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THE WALTERS ART COLLECTION AT BALTIMORE.

VERY many leavening forces are at work to-day upon the purely aesthetic, as well as the generally intellectual, side of the American mind, ever plastic and rich in latent possibilities of sympathy and growth and accomplishment, and they are those which no man can as yet fully appreciate, and the value of which cannot for some time be estimated, even approximately. And yet it is none the less true that a great and constantly increasing influence is being exerted in the cultivation of the popular taste and in the matter of art education. And it is because of the widely ramifying channels in which this influence flows out that it is at once most effective in result and most elusive of detection and definition. We have no great schools of art, no masters working surrounded by pupils, not as yet even a great number of art collections, and those for the most part not of the highest order of excellence, but it is to them, such as they are, that we must look for the dissemination of ennobling ideas, of suggestion and in-

centive, and from every one of them according to its worth and influence is going forth as silently but as surely, as pervadingly and as beneficently as the odor of flowers goes out upon and mingles with and savors the atmosphere; or, to vary the simile a trifle, to make it truer, let us say as the pollen of the flower floats unseen to do its gentle but potent purpose in fertilizing other blooms. We see but little of the slow process of growth in either case, but we behold its results finally when the formative period is succeeded by flower and fruition.

It would be interesting indeed if we could know all the results that are to spring into life in ten, fifty or a hundred years, through the agency of a meritorious gallery of pictures, generously thrown open to the public as is the Corcoran gallery at Washington, several in New York, and the superb Walters collection at Baltimore, with the character of which it is the purpose of this article to slightly acquaint some people, who, not having

seen its beauties, may be stimulated to do so by reading of them.

The Walters gallery, which in the estimation of many good authorities is really the finest collection of paintings—the most informing—in this country, represents only one, though the greatest and completest, achievement of a gentleman whose love of art has prompted him to numerous acts for its patronage, for the encouragement of art education and the elevation of the public taste. It has unquestionably an incalculable effect in promoting an activity in art, thought and endeavor, for it is thrown open to the public generally, and with certain special privileges to connoisseurs, serious art amateurs and students (a small fee being accepted from visitors which forms in the aggregate a considerable fund each year for the poor), and the privilege is eagerly taken advantage of not alone by Baltimoreans but by strangers in the city, including many foreign tourists who know the gallery by reputation, and especially by people sojourning in Washington, who regard it in fact as a kind of an annex to the places of interest in that city, and frequently form parties for the especial purpose of visiting it.

The collection is handsomely housed in a spacious, well lighted gallery communicating with Mr. Walters' residence on Mount Vernon Place, which is itself rich in art treasures. The handsomely adorned Mount Vernon Place with its stately Washington monument, impressive alike through its mere massiveness and the grace of its proportions,

seems an appropriate location for the home of the art lover, and in turn Mr. Walters' tasteful house seems to form a peculiarly proper entrance to the gallery. Just over the threshold from the porch, commanding a view of the little park with its tasteful grass plots and fountains and superb Barye bronzes, is a marble statue of rare beauty—"The Woman of Samaria"—one of the most perfect works of the famous Baltimore sculptor, Rinehart. All about are objects of beauty such as one is accustomed to see in well ordered houses where wealth and taste go hand in hand, not obtrusively asserting themselves in opulent profusion or bizarre effects, but harmoniously combining to produce a general atmosphere of elegance and ease, of gentle restfulness. Several rooms of the residence, not seen by all visitors, have been chosen for special studies in furnishing and decoration, and present rarely faithful examples of certain schools or eras of design. There is the Louis XVI. room, a charmingly chaste and bright combination in white and blue and gold, containing the bedstead and hangings, the tapestry, dressing table and varied articles of ornament belonging to the court of Marie Antoinette; and not less attractive though widely different, the Nuremberg room with a wealth of quaint antique furniture, rare old plaques and its quiet richness of forms and colorings, while still another apartment is devoted to Oriental embroideries and hangings. A suite of spacious rooms which form the approach to the gallery of paintings,

are crowded with a profusion of rare porcelains, vases of a hundred forms, plaques, lacquers, jades, arms and armor of various nations and periods, massive bronzes and elaborate, patiently wrought sculptures, in ivory, each of which must have employed for years the deft hands of some conscientious Indian or Japanese artist. The art-crowded capitals of the Old World and many out-of-the-way places of India and the Oriental countries have been discriminatingly ransacked and a vast deal of time and taste and money expended to bring together this collection of objects that are beautiful and curious, and which exhibit the highest of human attainment in their several lines.

Among the treasures is the Angelica Kaufman cabinet, and a superb assortment of Viennese porcelain vases, plates and glassware, some so delicately engraved that the lines can only be seen by holding them in a strong light. Somebody has said of the porcelain room that "it is like a picture taken out of the Arabian Nights." The collection is historically perfect from the old Korean down through the Chinese, Japanese, Indian and other periods of wonderful and curious workmanship, to the most dainty triumphs in modern ceramics. There is a whole case of peach-blow vases, any of which are superior to the of late much mentioned Morgan vase, and there is among the recent additions to the curios a cup of transparent enamels modeled after a representation of one said to have been owned by Benvenuto Cellini, and built

up by a process of innumerable firings extending over a period of many months. The collection consists of over three thousand pieces, all properly classified and arranged, but presenting in their vast variety, richness, beauty and often entirely unique character an almost bewildering treasure from the art centres and the far corners of the earth. And yet, the apartments which are lined and crowded with these costly and curious gems, are merely the pur-lieu of Mr. Walters' palace of beauty.

Perhaps, however, to style the place instead of a palace a *temple* of beauty will better suggest the atmosphere—the spirit—that pervades it, for, in all seriousness, there is that about the character of the gallery which compels the thought that these pictures were brought together, not by a mind having a dilettanti interest in the cleverness of art, but a deep love and true reverence for the beauty of all nature, and for the aspirations which lead men to study, to copy and to create anew under the spell of the great teacher, to lift human thought into the highest level it can possibly attain, at least while held a captive to the earth. The idea impressed upon one who sees these pictures is that, however familiar to the knowledge of their collector are such matters as the execution, the style, the school of art—and the results of the most thorough feeling in these matters, and the highest aesthetic culture are everywhere apparent—his foremost and dominating regard is for the sentiment, the pathos, the poetry

that is the informing spirit of every true incarnation of the beautiful. Hence, one finds here not only excellence, but purity and dignity. The effect is as if two stern and vigilant sentinels had stood at the portals of the great chamber, one representing a broadly catholic but severely critical knowledge of the art, and the other veneration for the sweetness and sanctity of the beautiful, and that these guardians had prevented the passing of any object trivial or unworthy, and of anything that might not be in sympathy with the lofty serenity of its surroundings. And hence, it happens that there are here, as one critic puts it, "no dark spots of mediocrity . . . no space that might better have been left unfilled." The collection stands as an outgrowth of long obedience to the injunction, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," and its excellence represents not merely years of getting but repeated judicious prunings, for although Mr. Walters never in his long career purchased a picture to sell, he has, as a matter of fact, sold twice as many as are now upon the walls of his gallery. Through all he has held steadfastly "that which is good," and there is not one picture here which the most fastidious art admirer or even the most capacious critic would have removed. One of the first impressions produced upon the observer is the absence of the old masters, but if Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Murillo, Rubens, Rembrandt and their cotemporaries are not here, there is certainly a glori-

ous array of the works of Delaroche, Delacroix, Meissonier, Millet, Millais, Detaille, Decamps, Diaz, Corot, Couture, Rosa Bonheur, Fromentin, Rousseau, Troyon, Clays, Gallait, Munkacsy, De Neuville, Breton, Boughton, Riviere, Dupre, Daubigny, Fortuny, Henner, Bonnat, Ziem, Leys, Achenbach, Cabanal, Alma-Tadema, Gerome, and scores of other eminent latter-day painters.

Mr. Walters has been the partisan of no particular school, but has gathered impartially the finest works of the French, English, Belgian and German artists now living or recently deceased, and has with perhaps few exceptions the best representations of each school and individual. Each picture has been chosen for its own sake and stands on its own merits, and collectively they represent and inculcate the best principles of modern European art in its various phases. The Paris expositions of 1867 and 1878 and the Vienna exposition of 1873 were closely studied by the collector, and he had also the advantage of living abroad for a term of years and becoming intimately acquainted with all the chief treasuries of art and leisurely making selections from them. One general idea which rises irresistably in the mind of the observer is that Mr. Walters' pictorial riches form pre-eminently what the French call a "*serious*," that is, an *earnest* collection, and it is by reason of this quality that it possesses its great value to students and people generally of cultivated taste. It is not the col-

lection of a specialist, nor one made in a spirit tainted by commercial thrift, nor by a lover of the curious, or the historically interesting. The primary consideration in selection has been that of the beauty of a picture—beauty, pure and simple—and all other forms or features of value, as of history, or the glamour of a great name have in themselves weighed as nothing. It is because of this fact that the gallery has gained its great celebrity among the truest critics, of whom one says enthusiastically that it "comes near being the realization of a connoisseur's dream," and another—the eminent authority upon all art matters, M. Durand Greville—exclaims: "Too much riches—and such incomparable riches!"

The place of honor in the gallery, at the entrance end, has been awarded to what is commonly conceded to be the greatest of all Corot's pictures, the "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian," which is the largest in the collection, occupying a canvas eight feet high by half as many in width. This is a truly wonderful picture in which art is made to serve in a mystic way, as the handmaiden of religion and the vernal forest in which the saint is about to close his eyes in the agonies of death, seems etherialized and spiritualized by the supernal light which is flooded down to welcome the coming of a great soul liberated from sore suffering. As an example of lofty conception of a sublime subject and of masterful treatment for the production of a sense of the mysterious and supernatural, the picture is a

revelation of the painter's power, to express the subtlest, the most elusive and abstract of ideas.

The picture which is perhaps the most famous one in the gallery, is Delaroche's "Hemicycle," the original finished study painted for the semi-circular salon or hemicycle of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, representing a distribution of prizes to successful students in the presence of a throng of the most distinguished painters, sculptors, and architects of the world, and thus possessing a high historic as well as artistic interest. It exhibits picturesque fancy, a masterful command of accurate drawing, delicacy of color, and fineness of treatment. The picture is about eight feet in length by sixteen inches in height, and contains about a hundred portraits, of which the subjects are indicated by a key. This priceless treasure was obtained at great peril during the reign of the commune at Paris, and lay for a long time at Marseilles before it could be safely shipped to this country, and should Mr. Walters care to relinquish it to the French he could set his own price upon it, for Paris possesses a copy of it only, and that not by the master's hand, but by a pupil, under his direction.

That celebrated masterpiece of Meissonier's—"1814"—is not hung with the other pictures upon the walls, but stands alone upon a cabinet in the centre of the gallery. It is a very small canvas representing Napoleon, mounted on a white horse—his favorite Marengo, was it not?—standing upon a knoll sur-

veying the field of the coming battle. It is a marvellous portrayal of the "man of destiny," at an hour when the portending shadow of disaster has fallen upon him. The dreary landscape, the lowering, leaden clouds, the very atmosphere appear burdened with the aura of the swift coming, certain catastrophe, and there is a weirdness in the fatalistic effect which chains the attention and causes one to temporarily overlook the wonderful technique, the almost microscopical minuteness of the great artist's execution. There is more imagination in it than in Meissonier's other works, and it stands upon a higher artistic plane than the more ambitious pictures in the New York Metropolitan Museum. It was this picture which, when all of the artist's works were brought together for a supreme exhibition of his powers, stood out by itself as the highest attainment of his genius. Albert Wolff long ago said of it that it was "the most poetical and finest of all Meissonier's works," and the eminent critic, Laffan, in a long eulogy says it is "the most complete and masterly expression of Meissonier at his best, with all his technical excellences in their unclouded exercise, while there is joined thereto a sense of absolute inspiration in respect to subject and execution, that does not easily obtain in any of his other pictures."

These three paintings have been grouped by the writer for the reason that he supposes them to be the ones which would lay strongest claim upon the average lay observer, and they are, in

fact, the most notable ones in the collection, but he must confess that there are many others which he, individually, more admires—among them, Gerome's "Christian Martyrs," which, we are told, was upon the artist's easel twenty years and repainted three times, superbly and sternly depicting human emotion and passion at supreme tension. The scene is a Roman amphitheatre, in the arena of which a throng of Christians, old men and young, and maidens, are huddled together awaiting the onslaught of the starved and ferocious lions and tigers just liberated from their dens, while other martyrs, smeared with pitch and stretched upon crosses at regular intervals around the race course, are being set afire to light the hideous spectacle that is about to be presented to the gaze of the Romans sitting tier above tier round about. There is something subtle in the hold this picture has upon the mind which, it seems to me, lies largely in the idea that is awakened of absolute helplessness and the awful solemnity of inexorable fate, emphasized by the utter indifference, the pitilessness of the on-looking multitude. There is much, too, of this strange, strong suggestiveness, so elusive of expression in words, in Briton Riviere's "Night Watch," in which a company of lions are stalking stealthily and alert among the massive moonlit ruins of an ancient temple, with the eternal stars shining from a serene sky upon the scene of desolation. It is a sermon—an intense symbolism—of the seeming slow, but always swift muta-

tions of time in the affairs of men and nations and all things finite.

Of Geromes there are three others, among them the much discussed "Duel after the Masquerade," "Diogenes" and "On the Desert," and of Fortunys five, of which the "Rare Vase," of the Morgan sale, and the "Hindoo Snake Charmers," formerly of the A. T. Stewart collection, are the most conspicuous.

The latter, which would be remarkable for the sorcery of its color alone or for the luxurious sensuousness of the lounging Orientals, is often the subject of study and wondering remark by reason of another quality—the deep sense which it produces of the mysterious or of occult influence.

Three masterpieces in the interpretation of nature, hanging side by side, evidently unlike, but possessing some qualities in common, are Rousseau's "La Givre," representing the hills of Valmandois, near the artist's home, as seen across the River Oise on a winter day—a picture exhibiting immense power and originality, which sold in 1830, when the painter was at his best, for only \$100; Daubigny's "Sunset on the Coast of France," one of the most beautiful pictures of the gallery; and Millet's famous "Sheepfold by Moonlight," one of the One Hundred Masterpieces of 1883 (a distinction belonging to several other pictures in this collection), which is probably the finest work of that artist, and not presenting as formidably as do some of the others the mannerisms of his coarse execution.

It is a little picture—only 24 x 18 inches—and yet as Albert Wolff says, "Poetry penetrates and solitude invades the fancy so completely that we think no more of the size of the picture. It becomes immense like nature." It is in fact an inspiration of nature. There are at least half a dozen other Milletts, among them being "The Potato Harvest," "Breaking Flax" (oils), the famous "Angelus" in black and white, and two pastels, "The Sower" and "The Shepardsess," with which the public has been familiarized by engravings.

Among the subjects of religious inspiration are two superb paintings by Delacroix—called by Wolff "The Shakespeare of Art"—"Christ on the Cross," and "Jesus on the Sea of Galilee," both of the One Hundred Masterpieces; and "The Assumption," by Diaz, who has several others of widely different natures, of which "The Storm" is a work of superlative grandeur, and "The Forest of Fontainebleau" and "Effect of Autumn," both works of delicate loveliness.

Breton is represented by several fine examples, and his much-praised "Returning from the Fields" is unquestionably one of the most attractive of modern figure paintings. Of Dupres there are three—two exquisite landscapes and a poetical marine, while of the great Munkacsy there is but a solitary picture, "The Story of the Battle." Troyn's "Cattle Drinking," another of the One Hundred Masterpieces, is near the three pictures by Millet, Daubig-

ney and Rousseau, already spoken of, truly worthy of their company and in sympathy with them. It is a luminous, luxurious page from Nature's book, full of the gleam of sunshine, the glistening of waters, the rustling of rich foliage, the joyousness and loveliness of light and warmth and life.

A very small canvas by Henner, a "Nymph," is notable by reason of its charming qualities and because it is the solitary example of the nude in this gallery.

One of the most serious as well as most celebrated pictures is Baron Ley's "Edict of Charles V.,"—an elaborate study of physiognomy, having an historic value—which received one of the eight grand Medals of Honor at the Paris Exposition of 1867.

Very many other pictures and artists, especially of the French and Spanish schools, not even mentioned in this article, are fully as worthy, perhaps, as those it has been endeavored to give slight impressions of, but there are such things as limitations, and the writer of these notes is subject to their check. A word, however, in regard to the few portraits in the collection. Cabanal's Nilsson is here, and there are four by Bonnat, including one of the great animal sculptor Barye, several of whose works in bronze presented to the city by Mr. Walters adorn Mount Vernon Place.

The English School is represented by a number of works already mentioned, but most conspicuously by a group of

Alma-Tadema's, who appears to be a great favorite with Mr. Walters. Nearly all are large and important works and of the first rank as to quality, fully illustrating the painter's intense vitality, purity of coloring, brilliancy of illumination, grace of design, careful finish and archæological accuracy. His "Sappho" and "A Roman Emperor—Claudius"—in which the Praetorian soldiers discover the frightened youth, Claudius, in his place of concealment behind a curtain with the murdered emperor, Caligula, lying at his feet—are the most striking and dramatic illustrations of Tadema's art, and, of all his pictures, probably best combine and epitomize his various high qualities.

A few only of the goodly company of beautiful creations congregated here have been enumerated, but enough has been said to convey, it is hoped, some idea of the character of the collection and the mission it is serving. It is a great group of sincere teachers, silent, yet giving eloquent expression to all that is lovely and tender and sublime in human experience and in Nature, as revealed to those whose eyes are most eager in search and readiest in recognition. And he who will may sit under the influence of this culturing company. It is doubtful if the money and time which this collection has cost could have been, in any other way, as effectively expended, for the advancement of art education in America, as in that which Mr. Walters has chosen.

ALFRED MATHEWS.

WILLIAM T. WALTERS.

As has already been said, this superb collection of paintings represents but one item in Mr. Walters' services for art encouragement. The story of what he has done for art has not yet been told, nor has the time come for the adequate telling of it. He has himself said that with the first five dollars that he ever earned he bought a picture, and we know that from the time he devoted a portion of the proceeds of his first year's business in Baltimore, now nearly fifty years ago, to the purchase of the best pictures he could then procure, an ever-increasing love for the beautiful dictated, as a constantly growing financial ability has permitted, larger and larger outlays in the direction of art patronage.

While primarily a man of business and of affairs, his methods of management and dispatch have been such as to reach the maximum of accomplishment in the minimum of time, and instead of permitting commercial interests to enslave him, as a great proportion of successful business men unfortunately do, he has made them minister to his own and other people's tastes, enjoyment and education. Thus, though he has made his own way in the world, carried on for long years an active business of much magnitude, and been the chief promoter and executive head of several large enterprises—in fact led a commercial career,

such as would monopolize the time and strength of any man less forceful, quick and sympathetic, he has been enabled to give more attention to study, travel and the various influences tending towards general culture, than do most men who inherit wealth. And above all, he has ever been alert to aid individuals in whom he has perceived aptitude, and also to benefit the public. As an example of his generous exercise of the former trait may be mentioned his early recognition of the genius of Rinehart, and the fostering influence with which he surrounded it, giving it opportunity to mature and blossom. William H. Rinehart, who was a native of Carroll county, Maryland, began life as a stone cutter, and very soon displaying a taste and capability for sculpture he was urged by Mr. Walters to go to Rome for study, and the art patron who freely opened his purse for that purpose remained his life-long friend. With the facilities thus put within his reach, his powers were quickly and strongly developed. He gained distinction as one of the greatest American sculptors, and many noble works, not alone in Baltimore but elsewhere in the United States, attest his genius and unremitting labor. Among the finest is his "Woman of Samaria" in Mr. Walters' home, the bronze doors in the capital at Washington, a monumental figure in bronze over the grave of Mrs. Walters

in Green Mount Cemetery, a most pathetic expression of grief in the loss of a revered woman; and the colossal bronze statue of Chief Justice Taney in front of the capitol at Annapolis, which the state was induced to commission the sculptors to make through the endeavors of Severn Teackle Wallis, Esq., and Mr. Walters; a copy of which has been presented to the City of Baltimore by Mr. Walters and placed in Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore. With these should be ranked the noble "Endymion," which, as executed in bronze, has been placed by Mr. Walters over the sculptor's tomb as a last memorial and tribute to the artist whose successful career he had made possible. Rinehart left his estate of some fifty thousand dollars for art purposes in Baltimore, appointing his old friend and benefactor and Mr. B. F. Newcomer as trustees of the fund. Kindly, encouraging acts, similar to that cited in relation to Rinehart, have, according to common report, been frequently performed by the liberal patron of art. He has not only recognized talent and genius when in the course of events they have appeared before him, but has sought them out and given them counsel, stimulating appreciation and vital succor.

As to his public benefactions in the art line (beyond the greatest of all of them, the opening of his collections to all who may care to avail themselves of the high privilege) may be mentioned his munificent donations of statuary to the municipality, so placed that it lies in

the daily walk of thousands. He has erected in Mount Vernon Place the colossal "Lion in Repose" by Barye, four groups by the same great French sculptor, and the splendid statue "Military Courage," by Du Bois, all in bronze, which collectively make this little park one of the most richly embellished with sculptures in this country.

To an inherent love for art and beauty in all forms, Mr. Walters has brought the ripening, refining influence of fifty years of devoted study under the best of advantages. Not only has he had a long familiarity with all that is best of art in this country, but he lived in Europe for several years, the greater proportion of his time being passed in France, and he there enjoyed prolonged visits to the most famous art treasures of the world, and became the intimate companion and friend of eminent continental and English painters, sculptors and art critics. The high esteem in which his art culture has been held was indicated some years ago by his selection as one of the permanent trustees of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, an honor made still more conspicuous by the fact that he was the only non-resident of the Capital given a place upon the board, and emphasized by his election as Chairman of the Purchasing Committee. He is also a trustee of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, a member of several of its committees and the chairman of the Committee on Art. In these positions it is safe to say that he exerts a stronger influence upon the criticism, cultiva-

tion and elevation of pure art than does any other man in the country.

In the creation and development of the aesthetic qualities, ancestral endowment and favorable environment of nature and condition seem usually about equal potent factors, and this broad generalization has an apparently apt illustration in the formation of our subject's mental individuality. Happily favoring circumstances seem to have attended his birth and circumscribed the formative period of his youth. William T. Walters sprung from a sturdy strain of Scotch-Irish blood, and was born in the year 1820 in the lovely region of the Juniata river in Pennsylvania, where his ancestors settled considerably more than a century ago. His father, Henry Walters, was a merchant and banker, and his mother, whose maiden name was Jane Thompson, was a descendant of that hardy, honest race which early emigrated from the north of Ireland and became prominent in the vanguard of pioneers whose strength was the important element in pushing westward the boundaries of civilization, notably in Pennsylvania and to a lesser extent in her sister colonies.

Inheriting the vigor, the indomitable will and the steadfastness of the Scotch, with the emotional, responsive nature, the nerve and verve of the Irish blood, he passed his childhood and early youth amid the picturesque surroundings of his home, in which a susceptible nature could not fail to receive the lasting impress of beauty and of grandeur; and upon the other hand,

the sturdiness and resoluteness of his character were early given full development by the nature of the employments which engaged him as soon as he was of sufficient age to begin his active career.

Foreseeing the era of canal and railroad building which must soon ensue as an inevitable outcome of the recognition of Pennsylvania's vast mineral resources, and the demand that would consequently arise for educated energy in this direction, young Walters' father educated him as an engineer, and though in early manhood he adopted a different calling, it is not to be doubted that his training for and brief experience in this profession were of considerable value to him in many ways. The arduous duties he performed had their effect in physical and mental invigoration and he had the benefit of familiar acquaintance with nature in all her aspects and moods, while traveling the wild region of central and western Pennsylvania. Such was the confidence that he commanded, by his energy, alertness, sagacity and managing ability, even before he had attained his majority, that he was placed in charge of a furnace at Farrandsville (now in Clinton, but then included in the bounds of Lycoming county) where, under his management, in 1838, was successfully produced on a scale of commercial importance, the first iron that was ever manufactured in the United States by use of mineral (bituminous coked) coal. He went afterwards to Pottsville, where he was identified with the first furnace

—the Pioneer, owned by Burd Patterson—in which was made anthracite iron in this country, an accomplishment which led to the speedy development of the colossal anthracite iron industry of eastern Pennsylvania.

In 1841, when he was only twenty-one years of age, he removed to Baltimore and established a general commission business, at once making a favorable impress upon the commercial community and obtaining a leading position in the trade, especially in the line of Pennsylvania produce, the handling of which was greatly facilitated through the opening of the tide-water canal to Havre de Grace, and the Baltimore & Susquehanna railroad, (now the Northern Central). Desiring a wider field for the exercise of his energies, he established, a few years later, the mercantile house of William T. Walters & Co., which grew to the enjoyment of a commercial credit without limit, and has been regarded as one of the strongest houses in the country. From this business he only retired in 1883 to more fully devote his remaining years to great interests which had been developed under his control.

The marriage of Mr. Walters occurred not long after his coming to Baltimore (in 1845), his wife being Ellen, daughter of Charles A. and Anna D. Harper of Philadelphia, whose death in London, in 1862, was the great bereavement in a life otherwise most smoothly flowing and enjoying unusual freedom from mutation. She left two children, a son Henry who, after graduating at George-

town College and subsequently taking a special course in science at Harvard University, became associated with his father in business projects—and a daughter Jennie, who married Warren Delano of New York.

Reverting to the commercial career of Mr. Walters, we find it outside of his special business, so large, so crowded with multifarious enterprises, that but little more than a general statement of what he has accomplished can be undertaken. It may be said, to commence with, that his energies have been chiefly devoted to the establishment and operation of lines of transportation both by water and rail, varied in their special purposes, but nearly all having the general and the grand object in view of opening and making tributary to the southern seaboard, the commercial, agricultural and mineral resources of the Southern, Western and the Midland country; of extending to these regions the mercantile and manufacturing advantages of Baltimore, the natural gateway of the South, and of benefitting both and the country as a whole, by knitting them together by the iron bonds of traffic. It was very natural that so enterprising a business man, beginning his career just at a time when railroads were coming into practical vogue, should become prominently interested in them. His initial enterprise in railroads, however, took other direction than those to which allusion has been made.* It was aimed towards the North. At an early day he became a controlling director of the Northern

Central Railroad, representing not only private stock, but the city and state, and it was largely through his energetic actions in connection with his life-long friend, the late Col. Thomas A. Scott, that what had been merely a local road, was rebuilt, re-equipped, reorganized and extended so as to make tributary to Baltimore the produce of that territory to the northward, through middle Pennsylvania, which naturally trends toward it by the laws of topography, or the "lay of the land." Through the arrangements of connecting lines to the Lakes and the West, the improvement of its terminal facilities in Baltimore and Canton (a suburb) and its union with the Pennsylvania railroad system, this line has been made a great power in binding Baltimore to the North and West, and securing a trade which has incalculably added to the wealth of the city.

He has been prominently identified with the organization of nearly every line of steamers sailing from Baltimore. He was president of the first line between that port and Savannah, and a director in several other companies. After the close of the civil war he recognized the importance and insisted upon the reorganization of those lines and the establishment of new ones.

The greater work of opening southern and southwestern railroad lines and organizing them into a system, which has been one of more recent years, has come nearer monopolizing Mr. Walters' time and attention than any or perhaps all of his other undertakings. It has

been the crowning accomplishment of his commercial career. In carrying out this vast project he has, for himself and others, expended millions of dollars and he has given it unremitting and most zealous attention—the fruits of his mature judgment, based upon long experience in the management of many other large and successfully accomplished undertakings. He had for many years held that it would be practicable and profitable to unite the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico by a continuous line of railroad of straight line and easy grades, east of the Allegheny Mountains, and as has been heretofore noted had early brought about the establishment of the Northern link in such a system by pushing to its greatest potentiality the railroad now known as the Northern Central. Firm of faith in the future prosperity of the South, which has now come, he was one of the leaders who, by their foresight, energy and willingness to venture large sums of money, helped to hasten that same splendid future and to control interests of colossal magnitude, which were alike factors in it and destined to be favored by it. Acting for himself, for his firm, and as a trustee for others, he purchased many hundreds of miles of continuous and tributary Southern railroads. The combination was duly effected, and under the title of the Atlantic Coast Line is controlled by himself and his associates. They have the majority interests in the roads from Baltimore through Washington, Alexandria, Richmond,

Petersburg, Weldon, Wilmington, Florence, Charleston, Savannah and Jacksonville, Florida, aggregating fully one thousand miles, and they control in the same way lateral railroads, tributary to the former, consisting of perhaps a thousand miles more, while they have also vast western and southwestern roads, penetrating to Atlanta, Georgia, Memphis, Tennessee, and St. Louis. All of these roads reach the Atlantic by continuous lines at Norfolk. This imperial railway combination, which by its widely spreading network of lines concentrates the products of nearly a score of states at the seaboard for home consumption and shipment aboard, and in return by its almost innumerable ramifications places at thousands of points within these states the manufactures of the sea-coast cities and of the whole producing world, was made up of more than a dozen distinct corporations, in each of which Mr. Walters was a managing director, and now all are under one control, exercised by a company—the Atlantic Coast Line—of which he is president, and his son Henry has been for several years the general manager. Of the latter, it may appropriately be added that, although young in years, he has had a large experience and has already acquired the reputation of being one of the best educated, most intelligent and practical railroad men in the country.

The value of faith as resting upon foresight and so strongly buttressed by it as to allow of no swerving under the worst of temporary disasters, was ex-

hibited when the panic of 1873, in the opinion of many, threatened with ruin that vast enterprise the Texas Pacific Railroad. Mr. Walters was firm in his convictions of the ultimate success of this project, and time has vindicated his judgment. He stood firmly by the heavy investments of himself and friends, and with unflagging zeal pushed the work ahead, and to his untiring enthusiasm and ceaseless, sagacious energy, more than to any other one man's, belongs the credit for the consummation of the great work. Throughout the progress of this enterprise he was the chairman of the company's executive committee and he now holds that position.

While Mr. Walters is pre-eminently a business man, as this sketch indicates, one can never lose sight of the fact that his intellectual activities are as versatile, as varied in direction, as his taste in art matters is catholic. This reflection is particularly suggested to the writer by the occurrence just here of the thought that it was this same giant in general commercial affairs and the control of huge corporations, the promoter of vast projects—this same cultured art connoisseur, whose gallery is famous in this country and in Europe—who has the credit of an important work in an entirely different direction, and also be it said one of great value to the country. This was no other than the introduction in America of the celebrated and noble Percheron horse, whose superlative practical value as a draft animal is generally acknowledged. The horses

of this splendid breed are now very numerous in the United States, both in town and country, but there are probably none finer than those at the country homestead of their pioneer importer. Very many instances of this versatility of taste and varied acts in Mr. Walters' busy life might be cited, and the mere mention of this one, so different from those on which the biographer has dwelt, suggests at least one other form of his activity and characteristic of his mind, viz., his love for literature, especially that which may increase appreciation for those things which he has found good and beautiful. Only a year or so ago he published in most elegant and chaste style for private distribution a treatise on the Percheron horse which he translated from the French of Charles Du Hays, and prefaced with a valuable chapter of his own introducing, as typical illustrations many superb photographs, printed upon silky, Japanese paper, of his own horses. The book is truly a beautiful one, and possesses a character which is in all respects worthy of the sumptuous way in which it has been clothed. This is by no means the only service which our subject has rendered to literature. Within the last few years the lovers and students of art have been indebted to him for a convenient hand book upon Oriental art, for a book upon Barye, containing authoritative criticisms by French writers, and a rarely beautiful work called "Notes upon Certain Masters of the Nineteenth Century," trans-

lated from the French by Albert Wolff, and embodying his comments upon the "One Hundred Masterpieces," exhibited in Paris in 1883.

This sketch, which opened with consideration of the æsthetic side of our subject's character, has, without any deliberate intention, come also to its conclusion with mention of art matters, but that is perhaps not inappropriate, for one who meets Mr. Walters must be struck with the thought that his ideas follow a somewhat similar cycle from art, through the various prosaic duties and strivings of everyday life, back again to art—that his first thoughts and his last are alike of the beauties of art and of nature.

One solitary negation or negative quality in his character arises almost in the nature of a relief. He is not—has never been—an aspirant for public place, although he did once serve the city with great acceptability as a member of its Finance Committee, at a most critical period, and his counsel has been often sought by the holders of official positions of honor and responsibility.

His faculty for leadership and government has been bestowed upon large enterprises of only semi-public interest, and on them has been exerted the great power of his influence for the good of the city and country and the people generally, while the humbler deeds of personal kindness, of humanity and charity, have not been lacking.

In character, he has been bold and aggressive, but cool, and prudent and

painstaking; prompt and exact; a model of propriety and probity, holding his verbal promise in all things as an absolute obligation; and these qualities, combined with his knowledge of men, instant intuition of character, quick appreciation of capacity in any calling, power to inspire personal attachments, his sagacious penetration of the future with regard to its possibilities and probabilities, and above all his absolutely tireless energy, have made him a leader among men, and enabled him to accumulate, not through speculation, but by process of steady growth in the

legitimate avenues of business and commerce, one of the largest fortunes of the times.

He stands out among his fellow men as a rugged, massive nature, yet of finest fibre; a strongly active man, yet possessing a vast resource of reserve force, a most vigorous and virile personality, well-equipped and nobly endowed; an intensely vivid and real mentality, of variform qualities symmetrically developed and held in happy equipoise for the performance of the highest duties and the realization of the highest enjoyments of life.

A. M.

HENRY REED: AN AUTHOR OF A PAST GENERATION.

Those of us who can look with the eye of memory into the now too placid waters of yesterday, see mirrored there the faces of many who wrought well for their generation, and passed away certain of having made some lasting impress upon their times,—men whom the world has not forgotten, and cannot well forget, but of whom the younger generations know too little, confused or amused as they too often are, by the loud-voiced and froward who occupy the stage of events to-day. It is to recall the outlines of one whose personality was so intense, whose genius so profound, and learning so varied, that he was one of the foremost men of his day, and has embalmed his memory forever in our early American literature, that these few pages are written.

Henry Reed, as has been eloquently said, indeed lived a life "too short for friendship, not for fame."

While circumstances due entirely to his environment, led him in the early years of his career to undertake the life of a barrister, nature and the sure voice of his genius called him into another path; a path which I have no doubt would have led him into the highest temples of literary fame, had not death ended his career before the promise of his early days had been made secure. I do not feel this statement to be extravagant; that which he was able to do was surely an earnest of even better things to come.

In that equipment of intellect which comes from a strong ancestry, Henry Reed had an unusual chance, born, as

he was, grandson to that Joseph Reed, known to fame as first president of Pennsylvania. His early days were passed in Philadelphia, where he was born on July 11, 1808. A well-known classical school of the day prepared him carefully for college, and in the fall of 1822 he entered the sophomore class of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, three years later. In accordance with the purpose he had formed before his powers had been fully tested with reference to their best uses, he entered upon the study of the law, in the office of his uncle, Hon. John Sergeant, and was admitted by the Philadelphia District Court in 1831. But he had by this time held sufficient commune with himself to read the truth; and he closed his legal career in its beginning, and gave himself to a more congenial pursuit. He accepted the position of assistant professor of English literature in the great institution which had so recently conferred upon him his degree. In a few months he was asked to also fill the chair of professor of moral philosophy; and in 1835 was given the chair of rhetoric and English literature.

His nature was such, and the thirst for knowledge "was so desperately upon him," that he learned as well as taught, and while forming the minds of others, broadened his own, and sought all open ways towards a true knowledge of the science to which his life was pledged. A thousand cords of desire drew him toward the older sources of intellectual

development upon the other side of the sea; and at last his long-held desire was made good, and he obtained leave of absence from his duties, and sailed for Europe. It was indeed a season of which he made good use; and the messages that came back from time to time were freighted with evidences of the growth and expansion of his mind, of the congenial atmosphere in which he lived, of the inspiration that had come for better work when he should return to his own. He naturally sought those whose hearts and labors were in the same direction as his own; and among the friends he formed were Wordsworth, the Coleridges, Thackeray, Henry Taylor, and others of that group who made their period one famous in the literary history of their land. His intimacy with them was close, while their appreciation of him and kindness toward him were such as to warm the heart of a stranger in a strange land and call forth the most profound expressions of his gratitude; and the last words he ever penned may be found in a letter written on date of September 20, 1854, to the venerable Mrs. Wordsworth thanking her and her friends for all they had done to make him welcome, and his visit one of pleasure.

On the same day he set his face toward America, entered ship and left England, filled with new aspirations for work, new strength for its accomplishment, and abundant material of the richest kind out of which new fabrics were to be wrought. But the power that overrules man and rules the

sea to all its purposes sent death out upon the waters; and on seven days after the good ship *Arctic* sailed away from Liverpool, she went down into the abyss, and but few of the three hundred souls upon her lived to tell the tale. The life-work of Henry Reed was ended, and the tears and heavy sorrow of the thousands who knew him in his personality or by his works had no power to call him back to carry on the work he had so well begun. We of the older generation can well remember the shock this loss involved, and the gloom that fell in so many American homes when the sad loss of the *Arctic* was made sure.

Viewed from the literary standpoint, we place Henry Reed in that school of writers who received their first impressions from the genius of Wordsworth and Coleridge; "a school characterized by sound conservatism, conscientiousness, and a reverent spirit." * He worked under the direct leadership of those great masters of English verse, assisting Wordsworth in the prepara-

* In this connection the reader will be reminded of Coleridge's portrait of Wordsworth, as drawn in the "Biographia Literaria," condensed for this occasion: "An austere purity of language; a correspondent weight and sanity of the thoughts and sentiments; the sinewy strength and original lines and paragraphs; the perfect truth of nature in his images and descriptions as taken immediately from nature; a meditative pathos; a union of deep and subtle thought with sensibility; a sympathy with man as man; the gift of imagination in the highest and strictest sense of the word"—a poet, indeed, upon whom any writer, in prose or verse, could well be modeled.

tion of an American edition of his works, for which he wrote a preface; and supervising the American edition of the "Memoirs of Wordsworth," published by the poet's nephew, Christopher Wordsworth, D. D. He was also, through correspondence, enabled to win the esteem and friendship of Sir John Taylor Coleridge, as an evidence of which may be cited the remark made by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, his son, while in America in 1883, and in an address at a banquet given by the University of Pennsylvania: "He was a friend of Henry Reed, too soon, too early lost—a scholar, philosopher, and perfect gentleman. He was known in England as well as here; of whom it might be said, his life too short for friendship, not for fame."

The chief productions of Henry Reed's pen appeared in the form of lectures, of which, as older readers will remember, a collection was published after his death by his brother, William B. Reed. This publication occupied three volumes, comprising his "Lecture on English Literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson," "Lecture on English History," and "Tragic Poetry, as illustrated by Shakespeare," "Lecture on the British Poets." A lecture on the American Union was published at the same time. These works were eminently successful, passing through several editions both in America and England, and covering many topics of moral and social philosophy, history and biography, criticism, etc.

Mr. Reed also edited or prepared a

number of works, among which may be mentioned an edition of Alexander Reid's "Description of the English Language," one of G. F. Graham's "English Synonyms," with an introduction and illustrations; the American reprint of Thomas Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History;" and Lord Mahon's "History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris." In 1851 he edited the poetical works of Thomas Gray, for which he prepared a new version, written with his characteristic critical power and discernment. He delivered an oration on "True

Education" before the Zelosophic Society of the University of Pennsylvania; and he was also the author of the Life of Joseph Reed, his grandfather, published in Sparks' Series of American Biography.

These works carry with them so many evidences of power and promise, and so suggest that the labor of a later day would have been even richer in fruition, that one cannot fail to realize that a great loss befell American letters when the life of Henry Reed came to an ill-fated close.

GEORGE GORDON HART.

JOHN BROWN AS A POET.

I AM led to add a line to the brief article already furnished, concerning the old hero, John Brown. In the pioneer cemetery, in Richfield, Summit county, Ohio, side by side upon a modest lot, rise four small mounds of turf, which mark the resting place of four children of John Brown, and his wife Mary. The children died in September, 1843, and within four days of each other, of a disease which was epidemic at the time. Their names are given on the stone above the grave; Charles, Austin, Peter, Sarah. Under these names are rudely carved a few lines, which the old abolitionist warrior himself composed for the purpose:

"Through all the dreary night of death,
In peaceful slumbers may you rest,
And when eternal day shall dawn,

And shades and death have passed and gone,
Oh, may you then, with a glad surprise,
In God's own image, wake and rise."

In an address delivered by Hon. Thomas Russell, who was with Brown during his final hours, I find these words: "I remember his saying 'I have no kind of fault to find about the manner of my death. The disgrace of hanging does not trouble me in the least. In fact I know that the very errors by which my schemes were marred, were decreed before the world was made. I had no more to do with the course pursued, than a shot leaving a cannon has to do with the spot where it shall fall.'"

This may be pure fatalism, but it is borne out as a practical belief in John Brown's every act.

JOHN KEITH.

DESERTED.

HENDRIK HUDSON.—1611.

Still to the fragile boat between us and the turbulent ocean
 Cling we, as frightened children cling to the powerless bosom
 Of the mother when danger is threatening. Thunderous voices
 Of ever-hungering billows roar above shrieks of the storm, and
 Sharp on my ear, through all the rage of the wind and the waters,
 Come the heart-heavy moans of my men in this awful desertion.
 Was it for this that we suffered the long and pitiless winter
 Horrors of death with the chill at our hearts and the clamorous hunger?
 Keen were the arrows shot from the bow that twanged in the icy
 Hand of the spirit who rules in these Arctic, desolate regions,
 While over ice-fields that stretched away, glistening and limitless, stalked the
 Spectre of Famine with mirror uplifted our faces reflecting,
 Multiplied copies they seemed of her hollow, death-sharpened visage.
 Why did we not arise, like Samson against the Philistines,
 Striking our enemies dead though we had perished beside them?
 Pitiful cowards all when death was the cost of submission!
 Helpless, I watched ye cling to the ship in your mad desperation—
 Cravens! could ye do naught but shriek, and beg for compassion?

Brothers, forgive my distrust; for me alone have ye suffered;
 I was the burdensome Jonah, the Pariah, scorned and accursed!
 God! to turn back when I stood on the uttermost brink of achievement;
 Reach for the star of success, and withdraw my hand ere I gained it!
 This was the glittering dream that unceasingly haunted my boyhood,
 This in my manhood the goal to which I was steadily climbing.
 Tossed toward the threatening sky in arms of the furious tempest,
 Then gathered back to the breast of the frozen, implacable ocean,
 Yet like a feather fallen from wing of the wandering sea-bird,
 Ever afloat on waves which greedily sought to engulf us—
 And if my men had not failed me, had persevered till we reached it,
 Kept but a tithe of their courage!—Mayhap, not a league to the westward,
 Waited the passage, priceless, long-looked for, waited to greet us,
 Triumph where others have lost, success where they have met failure.

Had you told me existence could hold a moment more bitter
 Than the one when reluctant I steered toward the harbors of Europe,
 I should have laughed you to scorn. No pain had foreshadowed the hour
 When the stiletto keen in crafty Treachery's fingers
 Pierced my too-trusting heart with the hate-sharpened blade of betrayal;
 This is the sting of death, the bitterness born of betrayal.

Henry! Between us the ever-widening leagues of the ocean
Sweep all too narrow; they reach not the flight of the hate that pursues thee;
Over the universe stretches its shadow, darkening and growing!
Pitiless thou as the sea to whose frozen mercy thou left me,
Hark! O, betrayer of friendship! I send my curses to reach thee,
Slaying my love at a blow!

Because my faith in all manhood
Died with my trust in one; because over all have I loved him
Clung to his truth as to Heaven's, and he has mocked my reliance;
Speed o'er the ocean, my Curse, and linger not till thou find him!
Loose the hounds of the tempest through night and the shuddering darkness;
Whisper thy wrath to the winds till they hollow his grave in the ocean;
Bid the foam-maidens weave a wet, white shroud for his wearing;
Open the gates of Death that his lie-deformed spirit may enter!
Should he escape from the dangers sown on the storm-furrowed ocean,
Speed o'er the waters, my Curse! Take port before him and greet him;
Bid the dungeons stretch their insatiate arms to receive him;
Close against him the doors of his kindred; wandering homeless,
Outcast, and scorned, and deserted, let there be none to befriend him!

Seize on his soul, my Curse! Content thee not with the body,
Lest as the serpent sheds his supple, glittering armor,
Springing free from the past, so the traitor thwart and elude thee.
Bring his evil deeds to confront him; let his accusers
Be the thoughts of his faithless heart; Remorse be his comrade.
Nestle close to his breast when at night on his pillow he lieth,
Longing to die there; drive the spirit of Sleep from his eyelids;
Mock him with moments of slumber's forgetfulness, only to wake him
Sick with the hatred of life; o'erwhelm his ambition with failure;
Give him the wind for his portion; dazzle with radiant visions
Of the divine, of love, and of beauty, ever denied him;
Teach him the friendship of traitors; let Love be the tempter to lead him
Into the fruitless, feverish paths of tempestuous passion;
Give him the wasting of want and the weariness wed to possession;
Spare not his soul from Death and thrust God afar from his spirit;
Multiply evils unto him, because his deceit has polluted
All the world to my soul!

"All the world" do I say? My remembrance,
Dulled by my passion, betrays me. One by might of unswerving
Love, all manhood redeems. When they thrust me into the shallop,
One of my sailors protested against the inhuman desertion,
Scorned to consort with traitors, though oft had I wilfully wronged him,
Leapt to my side in the boat and demanded to share in my sentence—
Philip! Thou givest me back the faith that scorpion murdered!

How this sunlight burns through my dazzled brain, and the icebergs
Glare in my weary eyes! Is it days or weeks we have drifted

Over this weary waste ! Suspense and uncomfortable silence,
Phantoms of vanished hope, keep ghostly pace with the hours,
Luring us on to despair.

My mind has been wandering happy
Back to those golden days when I sailed up the glorious river ;
Through the enchanted banks where but savages journeyed before me.
Into the footless shade of the sombre, slumberous forests,
Deep sank my wandering feet in the grass and the velvety mosses ;
Where the wind sighed his amorous prayers to the echoing branches,
Where the water-fowls jeered at his love from their nests in the rushes.
Dreaming I lay by the stream, while beautiful Indian maidens,
Lithe and tall as wands of the swaying, tremulous willows,
Slender-limbed, beguiling, with dusky passionate faces,
Brought me sun-ripened berries and grapes, amethystine, delicious ;
Dreaming I rested among them while one with the wild-flower's beauty,
Pillowed my head on her shoulder and dropped bewildering kisses
Soft on my answering lips through the odorous shade of her tresses,
And as the grape vine clung to the oak with its wantoning branches,
So about me she wreathed her arms as she sung a wild rhythm,
Full of the ripple of waters and sound of murmuring breezes :—

“ My beloved ! My beloved !
Long I waited for thy coming,
As the earth awaits the showers,
List'ning ever, thirsty, yearning,
For thy footsteps toward me turning ;
Heard them in the partridge's drumming,
Felt thy sweet breath from the flowers,
Heard thy voice through woodlands ringing
In the bluebird's joyous singing ;
My beloved ! My beloved !

“ My beloved ! My beloved !
As the lilies, snowy, slender,
Lift their cups for dewy blessing,
So I lift my heart's white flower
For thy love's refreshing shower.
Clasp me in thy arms so tender,
Thrill me with thy lips' caressing,
Fervent as the West-Wind woo me,
All my soul lies open to thee ;
My beloved ! My beloved !”

Like a breath from the odorous forest, resinous, thrilling,
Sung out from dreamland, that voice fills my soul with joy half-forgotten,
Strange that a dream so sweet should visit me here in my sorrow !
Vanish and haunt me no more, pale ghosts of the passionate gladness
Burning in luminous eyes and lips that quiver in meeting !
Cold are the arms that embrace me, for Death is my passionless wooer ;

Chill is the kiss of the Bride, yet she draws brave men to her bosom.
 Were it not better, my comrades, since Death is certain to gain us,
 Boldly to leap to her arms, than to drift to some desolate region,
 Where we may drag out the years of a dreary, hopeless existence?
 Better a peaceful grave in the sea, can despair have a choice,
 Than to be tortured, perhaps, at the hands of some murderous savage,
 Till our fugitive spirits leap from our agonized bodies.
 Shudderest thou, my son, who has braved all dangers beside me,
 As a slender sapling the storm 'neath the oak tree's protection?
 Bowed is my lofty head as the oak tree's stricken by lightning;
 Well may the sapling fear when the thunderbolt striketh so near it.
 Pray boy! Surely thy mother taught thee some simple petition,
 Surely some merciful saint will listen to thy supplication,—
 Pray! boy, pray! see thou not the Bride approach to embrace us?
 Crave we thy grace at the bridal, O piteous Mother of Sorrows!

JESSIE F. O'DONNELL.

"At length the late and anxiously expected spring burst forth, but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return, and 'he wept as he gave it them.' Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring place to steer for Europe. For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate, and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a midsummer day, in a latitude where the sun, at that season, hardly goes down, and evening twilight mingles with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which he was probably overwhelmed. The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument,"—*Bancroft's United States.*

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

I.

ONE of the most romantic chapters in the history of the West relates to the attempt of the French to hold possession of the western portion of Pennsylvania. This enterprise was undertaken with the view of connecting their acknowledged territory in Canada with that which lay along the Gulf of Mexico, by way of the Ohio and Mississippi, and thus forming a vast empire, reaching out westward to the unknown regions that lay beyond.

They had been very active in the ex-

ploration of the region that lay along these great rivers. The Jesuits had taken the lead in this matter. With a zeal that knew no bounds, and courage that quailed before no danger, they had pushed their barks out over unknown lakes, and sought portage over untried fields, and re-embarked on unexplored rivers, seeking only to discover new territory, and find new fields of adventure in the work to which they were called. They feared neither winter's cold nor the miasma of swamps, nor

the fierce cry of the savage, nor the assaults of the beasts of the forest. The vows of God were on them. They owed allegiance to their order. Heart and soul and body had been consecrated to the one service of the church, and to this they gave themselves with a constancy that admitted of neither rest nor reservation.

There was a freedom and an abandon in roaming at their own sweet will over these almost measureless wilds that had a wonderful attraction for these men, who had separated themselves from the ties of home and who had renounced the attractions of society. In these boundless realms and on these magnificent rivers they found free scope for adventure; and the very perils that surrounded them added to the romance of their adventures. And to their religious sense there was a very strong attraction in the work. There was a prospect of bringing all these mighty nations of savages to the religion of the cross. They hoped to plant the cross of Christ and the fair lillies of France throughout the entire western portion of the New World.

La Salle and Marquette had found their way up the lakes and across the head waters of these great rivers as early as 1669, the latter finding a resting place for his bones on the bank of the river that still bears his name in 1675, the former extending one of his voyages down to the Gulf of Mexico, and finally meeting a violent death in 1687. With wonderful zeal, and enterprise, and self-denial, they had

pushed forward their work until the entire valley of the Mississippi had been explored and claims set up for its ultimate possession.

There is no doubt that at this early day these explorations looked to the ultimate possession of the whole western country. The enterprise was political as well as religious. Nor was this an unreasonable expectation from their point of observation. They claimed priority of discovery; they had set up their standard in the King's name. As the anointed of the Lord the heathen, with all this goodly territory, were their just and righteous spoil.

That the intention of the French was to join Canada to Louisiana and make the entire western portion of the continent a vast French empire, is evident from the French writers of the time. We have this from Father Hennepin, in the fourth chapter of his book:

"I plainly perceived by what relations I had of several particulars in different nations that it were not a matter of great difficulty to make considerable establishments to the southeast of the great lakes, and that by the convenience of a great river, called the Ohio, which passes through the country of the Iroquois, a passage might be made into the great sea of Florida."

This, also, from the journal of Charlevoix:

"There is not in all Louisiana a spot better adapted for an establishment than that, viz.: the river Ohio, nor where it is of more importance to have one. Besides the communication

thence with Canada is as easy as by the river of the Illinois, and much shorter."

Time passed with various attempts to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the New World until nearly an hundred years had rolled by, when the first organized attempt was made, on the part of the French, to take actual possession of the valley of the Ohio. Previous to this there had been difficulties in the way of active measures in this direction. The respective claims of France and England had not been definitely settled. Disturbances had existed at home. Yet when these had been settled by the peace of Ryswick in 1697 no definite arrangements had been made as to American claims. The same was true in regard to the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and that of Aix la Chapelle, signed October 1, 1748.

We find, however, by reference to the inscription on the leaden plates of Celoron's expedition, that the French based their claims in part, on these very treaties, as well as actual possession. This appears farther from the summons of Contrecoeur for the surrender of the fort in process of erection at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, by Capt. Trent:

"Sir:—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the King, my Master; which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the Bombardiers, commander of the Artillery of Canada, to know of

you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the King, my Master. This action seems so contrary to the last Treaty of Peace concluded at Aix La Chapelle, between his most christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such a usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his christian Majesty."

According to the Colonial Records, the French had erected trading houses on the Ohio, against the remonstrances of the Indians, as early as 1730. This was mentioned by the Six Nations at a council in Philadelphia, in 1732. But the actual claim the French set up, was the possession of the entire region west of the Allegheny mountains. Bancroft says: "Not a fountain bubbled west of the Alleghenies, but was claimed as being within the French Empire. Louisiana stretched to the springs of the Allegheny and the Monongahela; the Kenawha and the Tennessee."*

But the actual outcome of events proved that it was the stronger battalions of England that finally won the day, rather than the right of discovery, or the force of treaties and the arrangements of diplomacy.

Thus matters progressed until we find an expedition organized to take tangible possession of the country west of the Allegheny and Ohio. This was in 1749. It was in charge of Celoron De Bienville a chevalier of the order of Saint

*Vol. III., p. 343.

Louis. His detachment consisted of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty Abenikis. A priest called Father Bonnacamps, was an important personage in this expedition. He styles himself "Jesuite Mathematicien" and was possessed of no small amount of scientific knowledge, as the map of the entire country traversed by the expedition, from Lake Erie to the Ohio, constructed by him is reasonably correct, as compared with the geography of the present day. Another officer of the expedition was Contracœur, at one time in command at Fort Niagara, and afterwards at Fort Du Quesne. This expedition was organized by the Marquis de Galisoniere, Governor of Canada, with orders to pass through Lake Erie, to a point near the head waters of the Ohio, then to descend the Ohio and take possession of the country in the name of the King.

The facts in regard to this expedition and the route taken, have been but recently brought to light through the discovery, in Paris, of the manuscript journals of Celoron and Father Bonnacamps, and the map of the latter, by Mr. O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, New York, through whose labors much of the light has been drawn pertaining to this branch of the subject.

The party was supplied with leaden plates with inscriptions, that were to be buried at important points along the route, to serve as future evidence of the formal possession of the country. The

plates were all of the same form, being fourteen inches in length, nine in width and one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The inscription was in capital letters, with blanks for the insertion of names and dates adapted to the places of deposit. The margins were rudely ornamented with the lillies of France, and on the reverse was stamped the name of the artist—"Paul La Brosse, *Fecit.*"

One of these plates soon after came into the possession of the English authorities, through the instrumentality of the Indians. It had not probably been actually buried, or brought into actual service, yet it affords us an idea of the appearance and general inscription of those that were deposited. The following is a copy, as found in the American Archives:

"In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur, the Marquis De La Galissoniere, Governor-general of New France, to re-establish tranquility in some savage villages, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Chadakoin, this 29th of July, near the Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of the renewal of possession we have taken of the said river of Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of said river, as enjoyed, or ought to have been enjoyed by the Kings of France, preceding, as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix La Chapelle."

The expedition came from Canada by the way of Niagara, and the southern shore of Lake Erie, a distance of fifty miles from the latter place, and landed on the 16th of July, at the mouth of Chautauqua creek. Thence they carried their impedimenta up the steep ascent to Chautauqua Lake, distant some seven or eight miles. This portage was made with incredible labor and pains. Chautauqua Lake is at an elevation of seven hundred and twenty-six feet above Lake Erie, and the way in much of the distance is steep and precipitous, making the entire ascent over one thousand feet. Up this rugged slope, without pathway, save as it was cut out by their own pioneers, everything was borne on the shoulders of men that was necessary for a voyage of many months. There was not only personal baggage, and camp equipments, with military stores and cheap merchandise the French found so necessary in all their dealings with the Indians, but the very boats in which they expected to glide down the La Belle Ohio. After many discouragements and toil of six days they succeeded in reaching the banks of the Chautauqua, or Chadakoh, as they called it. Launching their boats on this upland lake, the highest navigable body of water on the American continent, and passing down to the outlet, a distance of twenty miles, and by the way of Conawango creek, they at last entered the Ohio, or Allegheny, at what is now Warren, Pennsylvania. This point was reached on July 29th.

They had now reached the La Belle Oyo, the great river of their hopes, and proceeded with all due ceremony to deposit the first of the leaden plates that were to convince all coming generations of the reality of their claims to the actual possession of the country. The record of the event in the "Proces Verbal" is in the following words: "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers, Ohio and Kanaaugon."

At the burial of each of these plates a formal ceremony took place in the way of taking possession of the country. The officers and men were drawn up in battle array, the commander proclaiming in a loud voice, "*Vive La Roi!*" and that they had by this act taken possession of the country in the name of the King. A leaden plate, bearing the King's arms, was also appended to the tree, and a regular "Proces Verbal" drawn up, signed and witnessed, declaring the event.

The party then passed down the river, tarrying for a little time at Broken Straw to hold a council with the Indians, whom they found strongly inclined to favor the English. The interpreter on this occasion was Joncaire, a Frenchman, but an adopted son of the Indians, whose father Charlevoix characterizes as "Having the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." In these respects the son was worthy of his sire.

The results of the council were not

wholly satisfactory. In spite of the presents of French calico and scalping knives from the commander, and the honeyed discourse of the wily Joncaire, the chiefs were disposed to be non-committal as to any co-operation, or even encouragement. Evidently the strangers did not meet with the welcome they had expected, nor the encouragement that was so desirable. Still, pledging the Indians in a cup of brandy, they resumed their voyage.

Passing down, they left the "River Aux Boeufs" * on the right and landed at a point nine miles below, where the second plate was deposited. And this is the record of the matter, "Aout, 3me, 1749. Enterre une plaque de plomb sur la rive merioionale de la riviere Oyo, A 4 lieues, au dessous de la riviere aux boeufs vis-a-vis une montagne pelle, et aupres d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossierement gravees."

"August 3, 1749. Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio River, four leagues below the river Aux Boeufs, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

This point is the celebrated "Indian God Rock," a fine view of which is found in Schoolcraft's work on the Indian tribes,† drawn by Capt. Eastman of the United States Army. The rock is about nine miles below Franklin, Pa., by way of the river. It is twenty-two feet in length and fourteen

in width, resting in an inclined position with its face toward the river. It is rather wedge-shaped, with the thin edge reaching down to the water, and the thick end about ten feet in height. The whole face is covered with rude hieroglyphics representing men and animals, and bows and arrows; recording according to Schoolcraft the triumphs of some chieftain in hunting and war. These hieroglyphics have become dim in modern times, through the action of ice and water, during the time of spring floods.

It is not at all strange that the attention of Celoron was attracted to this immense boulder, as a place of deposit, raising itself up by the river's side and presenting its gorgeous array of mysterious characters to the curious passer-by. It was perhaps the most conspicuous monument in the whole course of the voyage where the plate could be securely buried, and yet readily found, should occasion call for its disentanglement. And in modern times this rock has always been an object of interest to the inhabitants of the surrounding country as a landmark reaching back into the misty past; and now that it has been connected with the romantic history of the French occupation a new interest clusters around it that will make it famous for all time.

A party of gentlemen from Franklin, Pennsylvania, recently made a thorough exploration of the ground around this rock but found no traces of the plate. It was not probably buried at any great depth, as the object was merely a tem-

* French Creek, the site of Franklin, Pa.

† Vol. VI., p. 172.

porary one, and high waters had washed around the old monument until very little soil was left, and the search proved fruitless. Its present appearance, too, would indicate that the action of the high water, reaching to fearful floods at times, has somewhat undermined the great rock so that even its huge proportions have changed their relative position, as compared with Capt. Eastman's drawing, taken some forty years ago. The bald mountain is still there, the only one in that region of the country, looking down upon the opposite side of the river and keeping solemn watch over the place, and bearing witness to its identity, but the coveted plate has disappeared, perhaps, forever.

Four other plates were deposited between this and the mouth of the great Miami, making six in all. Thence the expedition went up the Miami to a convenient point, thence by portage to the Maumee, thence into Lake Erie, and so back to Canada; all of which is faithfully recorded in the map of good Father Bonnecamps.

Of these six plates two have been found, one at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, in West Virginia, and one at the mouth of the Muskingum, in Ohio; in both cases they were washed out of the bank by the inroad of the river. The latter was brought to light in 1798; but before its value had been ascertained a portion of it had been cast into bullets by the utilitarian boys who had discovered it. It is now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society

of Massachusetts. The other plate was found in 1846.

It was formerly supposed that one of these plates was buried at the mouth of the Venango, or French Creek, at Franklin, Pennsylvania, but the discovery of the map and journal of Bonnecamps by Mr. Marshall has corrected the error. The mistake probably arose from the inscription on the plate found at Marietta, which states that it was buried at Yenangua Konan. From this Mr. Atwater, Gov. Clinton and other historians supposed it had been buried at Venango from the fancied resemblance to the name.

In regard to the plate that came into the hands of Colonel, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, there is this theory: It was stolen from Joncaire on his way to the Ohio by the Senecas, who were on friendly terms with the English. They had a suspicion that what they called the "devilish writing" on the plate contained some secrets that might work to their injury and wished to have the language interpreted. It is not said in any place that it had been buried, but seems to have been supernumerary and left to the care of Joncaire. It was probably designed to be buried at the mouth of the stream putting into the Ohio at Warren, and supposing this was the Tchadacoin, leading out of the lake of the same name, they had prepared the plate before reaching the mouth. Afterwards finding their mistake they prepared a new plate with the proper inscription, "Mouth of the Kanaaiagon."

There is still a difficulty, inasmuch as this plate has the precise date on which the party reached the Ohio, and the same as on the plate deposited there, according to the journal of Celoran. The blanks may have been filled in by a subordinate, and on further consultation and reflection the commander have determined to adopt a more correct phraseology, when a new plate was prepared and deposited.

It is really amazing the knowledge these Frenchmen had of the country at this early day. The courses of the streams, the general topography of the country, the dividing ridge between the Lakes and the Gulf, all seem to have been almost as well known to them as to the people of the present day. And this knowledge is particularly wonderful when we take in the immense sweep of territory that is involved. From Northern New York to the Mississippi, everything in the way of natural resources seems to have been explored as though they had a bird's-eye view of the vast, illimitable wilderness. And these plans appear to have been judicious. The Ohio river was a natural boundary; it was therefore important to reach it at a point as high up as possible; hence this first expedition by the way of Lake Chautauqua and the Conawango. Finding the portage from Lake Erie to Chautauqua practically impossible, a new route was selected by way of Presq' Isle and Le Boeuf, farther south, but at that day quite practicable, and open for all their purposes; having a portage of fifteen miles, but over a smooth, level country,

and a much larger stream in the Venango than the outlet of Chautauqua Lake.

Nearly four years from this time we find the French Government entering upon active preparation to hold, by the strong hand of power, what they had been so long claiming by words and symbols. On the 3d day of January, 1753, an expedition was dispatched from Quebec to enter upon the work of fortifying the line of the Ohio river. We have the information from the deposition of Stephen Coffin, an English prisoner among the French, who had obtained permission to become a member of the party. His narrative is given in minute detail, and is believed to be entirely accurate. He tells us that the expedition consisting of three hundred men made its way over the ice to Fort Niagara, and thence by boats along the southern shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Chautauqua Creek, and commenced the work of erecting a fort at that point. From this it is evident that the line of defense was designed at first to be the same as the route taken by Celoron in laying down his leaden plates by Lake Chautauqua and the Conawango.

But better counsels prevailed. In a short time Monsieur Moran came up with a reinforcement of five hundred men and twenty Indians. The site did not please him. There was no harbor. There was a direct ascent of more than seven hundred feet from Lake Erie to Lake Chautauqua, and the portage was most difficult. A new site must be selected and a new line of defense adopted.

Work was abandoned, and the whole party moved up the lake to what is now the site of Erie, Pennsylvania, where they found a good harbor, and at once set to work in the erection of the first fort. This new departure was with reference to fortifying by the line of the river Au Boeuf, or French creek, and striking the Ohio, or Allegheny, some eighty miles lower down, than by Celoran's line by the Conawango. This change of base seems to have been made at the order of Du Quesne, as we find in a letter from him to Rouille, dated August 20, 1753:

"You will see the reasons that determined to prefer landing the troops at the harbor of Presq' Isle, on Lake Erie, which I very fortunately discovered, instead of at Chatacouit, where I informed you I would begin my posts. The discovery is so much the more propitious as 'tis a harbor which the largest barks can enter loaded and in perfect safety. I am informed that the beach, the soil, and the resources, were the same as represented to me."

Coffin describes the work on Lake Erie, as: "A square fort of chesnut logs, squared and lapped over each other to the height of fifteen feet. It is about an hundred and twenty feet square—a gate to the southward, and another to the northward, not one port hole cut in any part of it when finished." This work was called Fort Presq' Isle, from the peninsula forming the harbor.

As soon as this work was finished they moved southward, cutting a wagon road through a fine, level country, a

distance of twenty-one miles, to the river Aux Boeufs, leaving Capt. Derpontency, with an hundred men to garrison Fort Presque Isle. Here commenced the work of erecting the second fort that they called Fort Le Boeuf. It was at the present site of Waterford, Pennsylvania. It is thus described in Washington's Journal: "It is situated on the South or West Branch of the French Creek, near the water, almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it that forms a kind of island. Four houses composed the sides; the bastions were of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for small arms. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one four-pounder before the gate. In the bastions were a guard-house, chapel, surgeon's lodgings, and a commandant's private store."

Coffin's narrative thus continues: "From this place an officer and fifty men were sent down to a place called by the Indians Ganagarrahare, on the banks of the Belle Rivierre, where the Aux Boeufs empties into it. Meanwhile Moran had ninety large boats made to carry down the baggage and provisions to said place."

Thus far, Coffin's narrative. This Ganagarrahare was, no doubt, one of the Indian names for the town on the site now occupied by the city of Franklin, Pennsylvania; yet we do not find the name occurring elsewhere. The usual name at this time was Weningo.

Coffin tells us that there were sent up in all, to these forts, fifteen hundred men. From the same source we learn that the project of a fort at the mouth of the Aux Boeufs, met with opposition from the Indians. There was a lingering loyalty to the English that could not be easily overcome. They were persuaded, however, by that most wily of all Frenchman, Joncaire, that it was to be a trading house for their special accommodation. The work was then commenced late in the autumn of 1753.

There was living at this time, at the present site of Franklin, a Scotchman named John Frazier, a gunsmith and Indian trader. Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, writing in 1753 to Gov. James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, says of him and of this place: "Wenigo is the name of an Indian town on Ohio, where Mr. Frazier has had a gunsmith shop for many years. It is situate about eighty miles up the said river, beyond Logstown."

When Joncaire came in the fall of 1753 to commence his fort, he drove John Frazier out of his house and took possession. For years this honest Scotchman had been located here, tinkering up old muskets for the Indians in exchange for furs, and doing a thriving business. But he had no rights that a Frenchman was bound to respect, so he took hasty leave, and moved down and took a new position on the Monongahela, at Turtle Creek. We shall find him again in connection with the seizure of the fort commenced by Capt. Trent, on the part of the English.

Meanwhile news reached the Southern settlements of the encroachments of the French. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, the boundaries of which were supposed to extend over what is now western Pennsylvania, wishing to learn the true state of affairs, commissioned George Washington, then in his twenty-first year, to go up the Ohio, and examine the military works said to be in progress there, and inquire as to the intentions of the French in their undertaking. Furnished with official papers, and minute instructions as to his conduct, the brave young man set forth on his mission into the wilderness accompanied by the celebrated Christopher Gist, as guide, Jacob Van Braam, as interpreter of French, and John Davidson as Indian interpreter. At the rendezvous, at Logstown, on the Ohio river, some eighteen miles below the present site of Pittsburgh, he secured the services of several Indian chiefs, and was soon on the way to Venango, which place was reached on the 4th day of December.

The fort at that place was not then finished, for he tells us in his journal that Joncaire was then living in Frazier's house, and had the colors of France raised over it. In this interview the Frenchman was thoroughly outgeneraled by the young American. Whiskey was produced, probably with the intention of getting the Indians and their young leader under its influence. But the results were that while the Indians and the Frenchman partook freely, Washington remained perfectly sober,

and picked the brains of the half drunken officer of all their secrets referring to their plans and resources.

From this place Mr. Washington passed up the shore of French Creek to Fort Le Boeuf. Here he found Legardeur St. Pierre, a Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, in command. At the gate of the fort his letters and commission were presented; and whilst the officers hesitated and debated, and endeavored to tamper with his Indians, the young Virginian kept his eyes open and took in a full view of the fort and everything that pertained to it. His conclusion was that the men numbered about one hundred, with a large proportion of officers. His men reported to him that there were drawn up in the creek fifty birch bark canoes, one hundred and seventy of pine, besides many others in process of construction.

Having completed the object of his mission the greater portion of the men were sent back by land, and the young leader with the remainder floated down the creek to Venango, and from thence, with very serious difficulties and perils, to his home in Virginia.

The sites of these old forts and the creek that floats between have been forever consecrated by the footsteps of

Washington, and this his first effort in the public service of his country.

In the meantime active measures were inaugurated to arrest the progress of the French. The mission of George Washington had left no doubt in regard to their designs. His journal was published and had the effect of arousing the popular mind. A party of men was sent under the command of Capt. Trent, with orders to erect a fort at what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The party reached the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, on the 17th day of February, 1754, and at once commenced work. But in two months' time a sudden check was put to the work by the appearance of Contrecoeur, with the demand for the unconditional surrender of the unfinished work. Resistance was hopeless. Capt. Trent was absent. John Frazier, the old Indian trader, who had resided in Wenango, had been driven from his home by Joncaire, when he came to build Fort Machault, had gone to his home at Turtle Creek, up the Monongahela. The work was in charge of Ensign Ward, and the whole number of men amounted to but forty-one. The fort fell easily into the hands of the French.

S. J. M. EATON,

CHARACTERISTICS OF RICHARD MOTT.

THE last time the author of this sketch saw Richard Mott was at a wedding reception, on an evening in the holidays of 1887. The July previous he had passed his eighty-third birthday, yet was his eye undimmed and his alert mentality unabated. As usual, on such occasions, he was the centre of an admiring throng; his tall, stately figure towering above any but the tallest in stature. His benignant face, with its clear, boyish coloring, rimmed with a silken silver of hair and beard, suggested the aspect of hopeful youth, rather than that of the seamed octogenarian, who had wrestled with the practical problems of an eventful life. His hand was warm, his manner gracious, his sympathies palpable. Childhood's trustful charm, manhood's masterful grasp, humanity's engirdling breadth; all combined to invest him with the vigor of perpetual youth. An atmosphere exhaled from him, whose radiance was reflected in the kindling thought and kindlier feeling of all who came into his presence.

The question of Bacon's authorship of the Shakesperean dramas and sonnets was the theme of conversation. Mr. Mott, reasoning from cause to effect, was earnest in his opinion that it was Francis Bacon, scholar, philosopher and wit, masquerading behind a strolling player. To him there was no royal

road to learning; no Aladdin's Lamp to lead the way to success. The man who labors is the man who achieves; literary production has its season to sow as well as to reap. Invention, discovery, inspiration, are but manifestations of law applied to human endeavor. The genius, the poet, the philosopher, the statesman, are the exponents of law. The keys of the kingdom are in the hands of the obedient.

Such was Richard Mott at eighty-three, a man whose whole life was a commitment of his ways to law—the higher law. This to him meant temperance, thrift, frugality, industry, community of interest; patience, perseverance, contemplation, deliberation, reciprocity.

The charm of a little child is its unconscious recognition of the universality of life. The Man of Galilee had this in mind when He held up the truthful babe as a type of immortality. It was this quality in Richard Mott which gave him his peculiar drawing power. A beast, a shrub, a creeping thing, awoke in him a tender interest. "Father never put a stick of wood in the fire," said his daughter, "but he gave it a little tap, fearing he might destroy some harmless insect." It pained him to see a thoughtless youth switch the bushes with his cane as he passed along.

It was this quality which enlarged

his sympathies, kept him in pace with the ameliorating forces of the age, and enabled him to penetrate the future with seerlike vision and anticipate the processes of evolution in human affairs. This spiritual nature was pervaded by the divine essence.

The child who sat on his knee; the young man who sought his counsel; the explorer into the mysteries of things seen and unseen; the poet, the scientist, the political economist, the man of affairs, each was drawn to him by the inevitable law of like seeking like. The weak found in him a protector and the strong a mentor. An unpopular reform was essentially his own. As one who shared in his advice expresses it, "In him the slave, the woman, the dumb beast found an advocate and friend."

A Quaker by birth and practice, Richard Mott's creed was summed up in the Golden Rule. His gauge of conduct was his oft repeated question, "Is it just?" The rule of action required of himself he exacted of his associates, of the state and nation. He believed in individual responsibility and the right of the humblest. His theory of government was that the full exercise of every factor makes the sum total of human good. The rich and the poor; the educated and ignorant; capital and labor; brain and brawn; male and female; science and superstition; each found in him a fearless champion or a patient guide. To ignore a class, or hamper the individual was to disarrange the machinery of government. He was a democrat of democrats, and his

theory of the distribution of power he summed up in the aphorism, "The ballot for everyone who can read it. Viva voce voting for those who cannot." "Do not prefix 'Hon.' to my name," he wrote to a friend, "it seems so much like a farce."

In business Richard Mott was thrifty and prosperous. Though through sweeping reverses, at the age of fifty, he gave up his entire property to his creditors, he speedily rallied and died possessed of a handsome competence. For twenty years ending with his death he was the president of the Toledo Savings Bank, which he organized May 1868, and devoted eight hours a day, gratuitously, to its service. Yet with all this he found ample time for books, his reading covering every domain of history, biography, poetry, philosophy, travel and belles lettres. Seated in a large rocking-chair, in a cosy study, which he called his "Snuggery," he spent long, restful hours in the society of his silent friends. Among the privileged guests who were sure of a welcome there, were the children whose merriest clatter seemed but a rippling accompaniment set to the music of his thoughts. In the winter he rose with the sun, and when the days were short, while it was yet night. Often of a winter morning his daughter found him reading under the gaslight though the sun had begun to stream in at the window. He was the best exemplar of his favorite adage, "Work as if to live forever; live as if to die to-morrow."

Richard Mott was a strong connect-

ing link between the post-Revolutionary days that began the century and the post-Rebellion days in which he passed away. His vigorous memory was rich in a fund of incidents and anecdotes of the Revolution, as related to him in his boyhood by those who were actors in the stirring scenes enacted along the shores of Long Island Sound, his paternal home. Some of these, heightened by the gentle humor, which lent a charm to all his speech, he has left in manuscript form, entitled "Second-Hand Reminiscences." Of the war of 1812 and the British blockade of Long Island he was rich in personal memories and was an eye-witness of the unsuccessful attack of the American fleet, from Sand's Point, on the British blockading ship "Atlantic."

The Mott family is of French origin, and early adherents of the Society of Friends. Like many well-to-do Colonial families they held slaves, but these were emancipated by the Quaker act of 1770. Among the slaves belonging to Richard's grandfather were "Billy Banjo" and his wife, "Aunt Ginny," who lived with the family until their death at an advanced age. From their pitiful accounts of their capture in Africa and transportation to New York on a slave ship, as well as the sufferings of his grandfather from the "Cow-Boys" and the "Hessians" of the Revolution, Richard learnt his earliest practical lessons in abolition and patriotism.

In his boyhood slaves were held in all the states except Vermont, most num-

erous in New York and New Jersey. "Our home," he writes in his reminiscences, "had always been one of the stations where the hunted fugitives from slavery found temporary shelter and a speedy expediting on the way to safety. Sympathy could not be held from the frightened faces peering out from the various hiding places, sometimes under the garret rafters, sometimes from behind the potato bin, or from under the hay, in cow-shed or stable."

When a lad of sixteen, disguised in his father's clothes, according to the Quaker fashion of the day—broad-brimmed hat, topped boots, knee breeches, an improvised wig, made by untwisting a few strands of Manilla rope, to look like his father's white hair—Richard conducted a fugitive woman, dressed in his mother's drab cloak and black scoop-shovel bonnet, safely to a departing boat, thus outwitting the spies set over his father's suspected house. His teacher, to whom he related the circumstance, laid down the axiom, which his pupil ever after followed: "The breaking of man's law, in aiding the poor woman's escape was but obeying another law above all statutes—the higher law of the Almighty." This was thirty years before Seward's Higher Law speech in the United States Senate quickened the ferment that rose to civil war.

At Mamaroneck, N. Y., the paternal home of the Mott family, July, 1804, Richard, son of Adam and Anne Mott, was born. He was reared on the farm, but being fond of the water he

became an expert as a swimmer and in the management of a boat. The latest summers of his life he spent among the scenes of his boyhood, enjoying the handling of the sails and giving his young companions object lessons in somersaults in the water and other feats of bathing. When nineteen years old he found an East Indian ship lying at Hell Gate without a pilot, and conducted her safely past the rocks and rapids until she found clear sailing to New York. The monotony of his boyhood evenings was varied by an occasional visit with "Uncle Banjo" to a country dance, where he looked on while the old centennarian furnished the music on a gourd banjo of his own make.

His father, who was a miller, suffering financial stress from the embargo policy of 1807-13, Richard was taken from the Quaker boarding school where he had been placed and put to work on the farm: but he embraced every opportunity for study, and at sixteen began school teaching to put himself through college. He failed in this, but the studious habits then acquired led to widest self-culture, not only in English but in French and Spanish, in which he became proficient, some of his translations being very felicitous.

In 1824 he removed with his father to New York City, receiving a clerkship in the Bank of New York, which he held for twelve years. At twenty-four he married Elizabeth M. Smith, daughter of Capt. Elihu Smith, of New Bedford, Mass., also of the Society of

Friends. She was a woman of great personal beauty and lovely character, and, until her death in 1855, their union was in all respects ideal. Two daughters were given them, Mary, who grew to beautiful womanhood but died in 1860 and was laid beside her mother at Rochester, N. Y., and Caroline, the presiding genius of her father's hospitable home, an officer of the Protestant Orphans' Home and member of numerous philanthropic and reformatory societies.

Richard Mott left New York and became a resident of the pioneer town of Toledo, Ohio, in the winter of 1836, arriving in a stage, *via* Columbus, over the frozen Black Swamp. He represented the large land interests of Gov. Washington Hunt and the Hicks family, and brought four thousand dollars of his own savings for investment. He entered at once into the business and social life of the primitive community; was a patron of the first debating society and of the first schools and was for years first-lieutenant in the volunteer Fire Company.

He was a pioneer railroader, and was one of the builders and operators of the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad, running from Toledo to Adrian; serving as president from March 15, 1838, to April 30, 1839. "How this road got into operation and kept up without money or credit," says Mr. Mott, in his reminiscences, "can never be fully explained, and perhaps not entirely understood, except by the parties whose energy and pluck—with possibly some little assur-

ance—carried it along through years of difficulty and 'embarrassment.' Mr. Mott, who was a clever draughtsman, has left illustrations of the first train, with its rude locomotive, run over the road; bringing wheat from Michigan and returning bread-stuffs from Toledo, at the rate of ten miles an hour.

He was the pioneer in grain hauling, and built the first warehouse, with a horse-power elevator, in 1838; burned in 1839 and rebuilt in 1840, with the horse tramping under the peak of the roof.

Richard Mott had been a Democrat, like his father, and was first to last an out and out free trader. But the party lash had no terror for him, and in 1838 his strong anti-slavery convictions led him into the Whig convention, at Columbus, for choosing delegates to the Presidential convention, Daniel Webster being his first choice, and Henry Clay the second. November 30, 1841, following the death of Harrison, and Tyler's abasement before the slave powers, we find him acting as a delegate in the Democratic state convention.

In 1844 he made the canvass for State Senator on the Independent ticket, and the same year he was elected Mayor of Toledo, and re-elected in 1846. From 1848 to 1852 he resided at Buffalo; supported Martin Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate, for President, against Lewis Cass, the nominee of the Democratic party, and was instrumental in getting up the Buffalo convention of 1848.

At Defiance, September 16, 1854,

during the excitement attending the attempt of the slave power to repeal the Missouri Compromise, prohibiting slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, he was nominated for Congress on the Anti-Nebraska ticket, and elected by nearly three-fourths of the entire vote cast. He actively assisted in the formation of the Republican party in Ohio, and in electing Salmon P. Chase to the Governor's chair. The first meeting for organization was held in his parlors, and the platform penned by him.

In 1856 he was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket, against Hon. A. P. Edgerton, late of the United States Civil Service Commission, an early friend and associate. Illustrative of his frank, honest methods, the story is told, that meeting Mr. Edgerton, he asked if he was going to run against him; the answer being in the affirmative, he replied: "Then I myself will see that thee is defeated." And he did, making his canvass often on foot, and, although no orator, winning the support of his hearers by his earnest appeals to their sense of justice and reciprocal rights. The canvass on both sides was so conducted that the life-long friendship was never impaired.

In those stormy times in Congress, the quiet self-control of the Quaker radical was potent for peace. Once his tall form intervened to prevent the rising blows of the wrathful champions of North and South. As a political organizer, and a factor in the evolution

of the Republican party, Richard Mott may be justly ranked with Giddings, Wade, Sumner, Wilson, Lovéjoy, Julian, and other intellectual giants of the most important period of our legislative history. A disinclination for public life led to his retirement after his second term in Congress, but his interest never waned, and he expressed his latest party preferences by enrolling his name in the Silver Grays; a Republican club of the Presidential campaign of 1884.

In the Congressional campaign of 1862, when the Toledo District had two candidates in the field, James M. Ashley, radical, for re-election, and Morrison R. Waite, afterwards Chief Justice, conservative,—the issue being immediate and unconditional emancipation,—Mr. Mott supported Mr. Waite, his deliberative judgment according with the more cautious policy of Abraham Lincoln. But he at all times favored a vigorous war policy; was a member of the first district military committee to promote recruiting; and through all the exciting years of 1861 to 1865 was foremost in every public demonstration to support and strengthen the army at the front.

A practical philanthropist, Mr. Mott did not believe in encouraging the idle and vicious by prodigal almsgiving and blind benefactions, but he lent substantial aid in establishing and maintaining the Protestant Orphans' Home, Home for Friendless Women, Industrial School, Humane Society, Protestant Hospital and Temperance Association. He was an earn-

est advocate of manual training in our public schools; and his name was coupled with every enterprise for the common weal. "Oh, yes, the world is getting better," was his frequent remark in reviewing the ameliorating influences of advancing civilization.

In 1869 he assisted Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the formation of the Toledo Woman Suffrage Association, and during the life of Lucretia Mott, wife of his elder brother, James, he lent her ready counsel and advice. In 1876 he assisted in the formation of the New Century Club, devoted to a discussion of literary and timely topics; was made a life honorary member, and served as president for the year 1885.

Richard Mott passed away January 22d, 1888, 7.30 P. M., at his Toledo home, and on the 26th the silent service of the Society of Friends was solemnly observed by a large concourse assembled, broken only by the reading of his favorite hymn, "How Blest the Righteous when he Dies," by Clarence Brown, preceded by a tender eulogy and followed by the singing of Whittier's hymn, "With Silence as their Benediction God's Angels Come."

Before me is a heap of manuscript, productions of his latest years, written in the firm, open hand, characteristic of his epistolary correspondence and business details. They treat of the most potent questions of our time and country: Free Trade, Woman Suffrage, The Higher Law, as applied to society and government. "As a man thinketh

in his heart so is he," and the following extracts will give a better idea than can otherwise be conveyed of his terse idiomatic English and strong sense of equity and moral truth.

MOTT MAXIMS.

The primary law for everyone to achieve business success is to live within his income.

When outgo exceeds income the game is desperate, the fate inevitable. The two per cents crush all in the end.

To render a country thoroughly prosperous requires the industry of all the people.

No person can be idle and unemployed without danger. He will become effeminate in body or mind, frivolous or useless.

Our normal condition is work. It is one of the highest laws of nature that a human being must sustain himself; a nation must sustain itself.

Occupation of both body and mind is indispensable. Better the toil be grave than none. Better be overtasked than undertasked.

The standard of equity is the only one from which to view questions of human duty.

The degradation of any one class practically debases the others.

Political liberty is the right, not only of the entire community, but of every individual composing it.

Universal, untrammelled and equal suffrage and frequent elections afford the best and only lasting security to civil liberty.

There is more danger from the mil-

lionaire than from the impecunious classes; from gigantic, entrenched monopolies than imported ignorance and superstition.

Excessive wealth carries with it excessive poverty, both injurious to private virtue and public good. To diminish these evils is an important but neglected branch of moral legislation.

The strength of government must have its permanent foundation in equity. Absolute justice and perfect equality form the enduring base on which it must rest.

Suffrage in a Republic should be held as a right, not as a privilege. If the latter, it can be taken away by the same power by which it was conferred.

Equality of citizenship, its rights, duties, responsibilities and privileges, should be the first question of the day and should have precedence in all legislative bodies, till all humanity be placed on the same political plane.

The retrogression from democracy through oligarchy to decay can be traced to the influence of the specious sophistry teaching the necessity of placing the governmental management in the hands of the educated and well-to-do classes, who have leisure to think for the masses. We read of distinguished men who had no early advantages, who were early compelled to severe labor. Such men have actually the best advantages; the petted children of effeminacy really less.

Progress is a positive law. Individual education and culture are pursued in promotion of this law. Legislation

contemplates the same beneficent end; but it must be elevated above political squabbles and petty larceny scrambles for office.

It is the observance of vital and pervading truth, instead of local and special phenomena, that distinguishes the Galileos and Franklins among people of science, the Stephensons and Morses among mechanics, and the Jeffersons, the Hamiltons, the Pitts and Cavours among statesmen.

If anyone assume to regard himself while living as independent of his fellows and holds himself aloof from all their trials and exertions, of course, living or dead, the world owes him nothing but reciprocal contempt, and his own doctrine carried to extremes would leave his own carcass unburied when the breath left it.

The many wrongs complained of as being manipulated in primary political meetings could be mainly prevented were two elections to be the rule. The first a preparatory, or nominating, one and the two names receiving the greater

number of votes should be the candidates at the second and deciding election. This would prevent ill-judged caucus management.

Through the co-education of woman she has become the peer of man in intellectual culture, and will at no distant day be found in her proper position as his peer in political rights—a position which is hers inevitably—thereby softening our discussions, and with her clearer intuition becoming a useful co-laborer in our legislation.

Right inspiration is to know little and care less, for all the differences of dogma between church and church, and to look at all people as subjects to join in the enjoyment of that social, broad religion, which matters not what notion of Christianity, consistent with morality, is accepted by it.

He inculcates the higher law of practical religion who teaches his listeners to manifest the genuineness of their love of God by elevating their fellow men.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD.

A VIEW OF CHICAGO IN 1848.

The *Gem of the Prairie* was one of the early ventures of Chicago, and for some eight years after its founding in 1844 it made weekly visits to a limited circle of readers who hoped—even though they may not have believed—that it would become one of the great literary and educational influences of

the time. But although its distinctive Western name was not long retained, its career was by no means short-lived, as it was gradually merged into the weekly *Tribune*, and as such finds a place in American journalism of to-day.

I have been permitted to make use of a file of that pioneer journal for

1848, for the collection of the random facts and suggestive incidents recorded below; premising the selection, however, by the following statement recently made as to the condition and position of Chicago in the year named: There was no railroad to the city then, nor even for part of the year a telegraph wire; there were no paved streets, and hardly any sidewalks; it was a rickety city of frame shanties clustered from Washington street on the south to Michigan street on the north, and divided by the main branch of the river; it was a small city of pushing, hustling, lively people, shut off, as one looks at it now, from half the privileges and enjoyments that make life endurable. But it was evidently a stirring year for Chicago—was 1848. The anti-slavery agitation was absorbing a good deal of interest; and cases of kidnapping of colored men, with much indignant comment thereon, were frequently recorded in the papers. It was in that year that the Illinois and Michigan canal was opened—that, indeed, was the great event of the year in Chicago—and it was also in that year that plank roads began to be built, that the first telegram was received in the city, that the Board of Trade was organized, that the first bit of railroad was constructed, that Clark street houses were first numbered, that the first city building—the market building—was erected, and that the cholera epidemic struck the city.

The *Gem of the Prairie* boasted of eight pages of five columns to the page,

and measured twenty-one by sixteen inches. The matter was as miscellaneous as the most diversified patronage could desire—original poetry, stories, literary selections, editorials, local and political news, and advertisements. Glancing through these pages, one gains a very good idea of the condition of the times in Chicago, with some idea of the progress of events in the world at large. It was a day when the possibilities of steam were being rapidly demonstrated; while those of the telegraph were yet in the suggestive stage. Of the latter we find an account, in April, of the first connection of Chicago with the East by the electrical wire, headed with the welcome announcement that “time and space” have been “annihilated.” By June 17th Milwaukee sends greeting over the new means of communication, couched in these boastful words:

“Milwaukee, with her fourteen thousand inhabitants, sends greeting to her fair sister Chicago, with her seventeen thousand, and requests her to clear the track to allow her to pass!”

It would not have been Chicago if a response fraught with all the promise of the future had been wanting. Here is the cheerful message that was flashed back:

“Chicago, with her seventeen thousand inhabitants, will soon have her railroad tracks East to the Atlantic, and West to the Mississippi* clear, so

*How many then supposed that the word “Pacific” could have been truthfully inserted here?

that the fourteen thousand citizens of their sister city can have every possible facility for passing."

The wonders of steam do not go unrecognized. Touching the expected opening of the new canal at Bridgeport, then some distance from the city, the *Gem* discourses as follows:

"The aggregate steam-power of the works at Bridgeport is equal to four hundred horses, when all the boilers are in use. Mr. Guthrie informs us that only about half this power will be needed for permanent use in supplying water to the canal, and that the other half, equal to two hundred horses, can be at once applied to the propulsion of machinery of various kinds. This will, of course, make quite a manufacturing place of Bridgeport, aside from the business of the canal. Two or three large flouring mills might be at once erected there, and perhaps a cotton and woolen factory or two. Bridgeport is a most capital point for manufacturing purposes. It is just a convenient distance from the city. The mills, factories, etc., would stand right alongside the canal, with every advantage of taking in wheat and other raw materials, and shipping off the manufactured products of the country. Is not here a field worthy the attention of manufacturers and capitalists generally? Chicago is bound to be a great manufacturing point, and we know of no spot in the vicinity of the city which offers greater present advantages than Bridgeport. Very soon it will be only a suburb of the town."

The fact that slavery was yet one of the peculiar institutions of the country, is vouched for by the *Gem* which contains an account of the kidnapping of a mulatto named Ross, a fugitive from slavery, followed a few days later by this warning: "Look out for man-thieves! A number of graceless wretches from the South are now in the city, we understand, prowling around for an opportunity to repeat the experiment which proved so successful a few days since. We warn our colored citizens to be on their guard. Let them barricade their doors at night, after having provided themselves with efficient means of defense inside. It is impossible to tell whose turn will come next. Villains who are of so desperate and abandoned a character as to become man-hunters, would as soon carry off a free man as a slave." And again: "Sunday evening a large crowd was collected in front of the court-house to hear some speaking in reference to the project of forming an association to prevent the recapture of runaway slaves."

The triumph of telegraphic communication is celebrated in verse, by some effusive contributor:

"From far Atlantic shores,

To where the waters of Lake Michigan

Lave the proud Western soil, a message came.

No echoing post-horn 'mid the distant hills,

No sounding coach-wheels on the pavement
rough,

Announce its near approach."

But it is as a measure of Chicago's advance and development as the future great city of the West, that the *Gem* is most valuable, and by far the most in-

teresting. The information thus safely preserved, is taken at random here and there from the various issues of the year. Under the general heading "City Improvements," we are carefully informed as to one important section of the present city. "We had neglected," says the reporter, "until yesterday, for a year back, a regular tour of observation on the west side of the South Branch, and were agreeably surprised at the improvements which had been made in that section of the city. The canal draws houses, stores, machine-shops, planing-mills, etc., toward it as a magnet does iron filings. A very large number of buildings have been erected in that neighborhood during the year, and among them we could not fail to notice particularly the very handsome and spacious public school-house, as a stream of children were issuing from it by hundreds. It was gratifying to think that where a few years since, the flat and desolate prairie was the only object to greet the eye, a noble edifice dedicated to the culture of the rising generation, has arisen, and the daily hum of a multitude of youthful voices is heard."

"First brick warehouse in Chicago. Mr. R. C. Bristol is about building a large brick warehouse, seventy by seventy-five, and four stories high, on Market street, between Lind's block and the opposite corner. It is designed to have steam elevators for receiving and discharging freight on the wharf. A portion of the materials are on the ground."

"The coal trade. The warehouse that was towed up the South Branch a few days since has been landed a few rods south of Foss & Brothers' planing mill. It has had a story put under it, and been furnished as a storehouse, and will be occupied by James & Harmon, who are making preparations for an extensive business in coal. They will have a large coal yard on the river at that point, the supplies for which will be brought from the beds now being opened along the line of the canal."

"We are informed the surveyors, under authority of the canal trustees, have been for some days engaged in surveying the line of a projected continuation of the canal from Bridgeport to the city. The citizens of State street appear to be fully awake to their interests. The construction of a large market with a city hall caused business men to look that way, and now that they are to have a bridge also, we may expect that part of the town to become very soon a great business mart. . .

In the common council Friday evening the committee on Streets and Alleys reported in favor of planking Randolph street. The report was accepted, and a committee appointed to assess the property in the street. . . William E. Jones, Esq., is now engaged in erecting a substantial and elegant dwelling on Clark street, in Bushnell's addition to Chicago, the estimated cost of which is \$7,500. The north side of the river possesses advantages over any other portion of the city as the location of private residences, and we confidently

predict that within a few years large numbers of wealthy citizens will take up their abode there for the purpose of avoiding the dust and noise of the business portion of the city."

But there was already a Board of Trade, and the business men of Chicago were apparently as active and wide-awake within the limits of their opportunities and means as they are to-day.

"A Board of Trade has been organized," we learn from the issue of April 22d, "in this city, by our principal merchants, shippers and business men. Mr. Thomas Richmond has been elected president and Mr. W. S. Whiting secretary. Rooms have been fitted up in a large, fireproof block on South Water street, and the trading community can now have an agreeable place of resort to collect information regarding commercial and other matters and to chat away leisure time. But the great good that the Board is destined to effect is of a moral nature. One of its objects is to settle by arbitration all litigation among merchants, mechanics and traders, and thus do away in a great measure with the many lawsuits that ordinarily arise from men of business. We therefore hail the institution as a valuable accession to our community. In connection with this we desire to say to traders in other cities or in country villages that Secretary Whiting is a general agent for the purchase or sale of produce, as well as contracting for shipments, and, as he keeps himself well advised of the state of trade, any business intrusted to him

would be as well attended to as by any other business man in our city."

In March we find a review of the annual statement of the city treasurer, which gives us something of Chicago's financial condition at the time:

"We have given the financial report a hasty glance, and find that the total receipts of the treasury for the last fiscal year from taxes, licenses and all other sources have been \$31,170.63. The total expenditures during the same time have been \$33,650.84, making the expenditures greater than the receipts by nearly \$2,500. The indebtedness of the city is about \$20,000. The assets to meet this are only about \$10,800, and part of this cannot be made available for the present. The entire excess of liabilities over resources is something more than \$9,000. This is a small sum when we consider the rapid increase of taxable property, and can soon be liquidated if we have a board of good, practical, common-sense councillors, who will act for *public* instead of *party* good. But there is one thing in the report that should be looked into. The entire amount of road tax collected in the north division only amounts to \$214.50, out of nearly a thousand voters, while the salary of the street commissioner alone, P. Duffy, is set down at \$252.04! thus paying the said commissioner all the money he collected for the street tax, and voting him nearly \$40 additional from the treasury for such valuable services! We hope the citizens of the north division see to this. There is either a mis-

take in the report or the street commissioner has been guilty of a neglect of duty that is in the highest degree censurable."

From a source other than the *Gem* we are able to look at the conditions and prospects of Chicago as viewed from one standpoint—that of the real estate man—the following extracts being taken from a circular issued by one of that fraternity toward the close of 1847: "There is no speculative demand for Chicago property and has not been for ten years; and, though prices have been and are steadily advancing, it is a healthy growth. Sales are now continually making, but they are almost wholly for investment. Lots can be bought at the central business part of Chicago, yielding a ground rent of six to nine per cent. I know of a lot, for instance, held at \$2,500, for which the owner is offered, for a five years' lease, \$200 per annum and the taxes. The lessee wishes to erect a good brick building, conditioned that at the end of the lease the lessor, at his option, shall renew the lease at seven per cent. on the value of the lot, or purchase the building at an appraisal, the value of both lot and building to be fixed by three disinterested men. The building would cost about \$2,000, and would rent for \$450, perhaps more. These lots, twenty feet front by one hundred and fifty deep, which are among the best in the city, have been under lease for ten years past at \$250 each, and the leases are renewed for the present year at \$300. The lots are worth \$4,500

each, and for a five year lease we could get \$350 per annum, nearly eight per cent. Another lot I could have bought a short time since, and perhaps can yet, for \$3,000, which is under lease for seven years at \$270, or nine per cent., with no conditions to renew or buy the buildings. Good brick stores, four stories high, and well furnished, costing about \$3,000, will rent for \$800 to \$850, in the best localities. When we have fifty thousand inhabitants if rents are worth as much here as in cities of corresponding size and business, such stores will be worth at least \$1,200 per annum; and as \$500 will be an ample allowance for the building alone, \$700 will be left for the lot, from which deduct \$100 for taxes, and it will then pay six per cent. on \$10,000. This you may reasonably reckon upon *in ten years*. New channels are to be opened, widely extending the range of country tributary to this market. But with no increase from abroad, business in all departments must enlarge and extend, and very rapidly in a country of early tillage. But the population of Illinois, particularly of the northern portion, which trades here, never was increasing so fast by immigration."

Thus does the eager real estate man lead the hopes of the people into the rosy future; but even with all the spirit of prophecy that may fall upon the most gifted of his class, could he have foreseen one-half the greatness and numbered one-half the people who make Chicago their home and the theatre of the immense commercial operations of to-day?

LUTHER VAN DORN.

ORIGIN AND HOMES OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

CURIOUS REMINDERS IN THE DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A CITIZEN of Denver, while recently in Europe, visited Sulgrave Manor House, Northamptonshire, England, and while there made drawings of the Washington Coat of Arms; of the effigies of John, Laurence, Robert and Elizabeth Washington and children carved upon the walls; and also copied inscriptions upon the monuments in Brington Church. These curious and interesting reminders of the ancient home and burial place of the founders of the Washington family may be seen in the Public Library rooms of Denver. The sight of them one day suggested what follows:

We are told that when Henry VIII., dissolved the monasteries, A. D. 1528-9, he gave all the lands in Sulgrave, with other estates near Northampton, lately belonging to the priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby, to "Laurence Washington, of Northampton, gentleman."

Here eleven children, sixteen grandchildren (including John and Laurence, the emigrants) and fourteen great-grandchildren were born, descendants of Laurence, the favorite of Henry VIII.

It is situated almost in the center of England, in a quiet, rural neighborhood. Washington Irving visited it

and his description will be recalled. He says: "The house stands at the eastern extremity of the village, in its own grounds, and is approached on the west by a pretty green croft separated from the almost encircling road by a hedge. The northern walls are ivy-mantled. The entrance was through a fine old Tudor doorway of brown stone, with its square-headed moldings and depressed arch ornamented by the Washington Coat-of-Arms, and the well-known motto—so characteristic of Washington, 'Excitus acta probat,' 'Actions are tested by their results.' There can be no question," says Irving, "that the three red stars and the two red stripes furnished the idea of the American flag." This old manorial homestead is not only an illustration of the antiquity of the Washington family, but is also associated with the origin of our flag. The stars and stripes were carved upon its now moldering stones, and were charges upon the Washington escutcheon two hundred and fifty years before the final adoption of our national emblem, with its alternating red and white stripes and its stars argent on an azure field.

Three generations of the family lived here. Robert and Laurence, being obliged to sell, sold to a nephew, Laurence Makepeace, about 1625. They

retired to Brington, in the same county, where we are told they lived under the protection of the Spencers. The house in little Brington is still shown. Over the door is the inscription: "The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away. Blessed is the name of the Lord."

The depression of their fortunes was but temporary. They recovered wealth by the marriage of Sir William Washington with a half-sister of George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham.

In Brington Church near by is a memorial tablet containing this inscription: (a copy of which is in the Denver Library):

"Here lies interred ye Bodies of Elizab Washington, widowe, who changed this Life for immortallitie, ye 19 of March, 1622. As also ye body of Robert Washington, gent, her late husband, second sonne of Robert Washington, of Solgrave, in ye county of North, Esq., who depected this life ye 10 of March, 1622. After they lived lovingly together."

Cave Castle, Yorkshire, was the home of the Washingtons during the commonwealth. From this place Col. John Washington, the great-grandfather of George, emigrated to America in 1657 or 1659.

The brothers, John and Laurence, sons of Sir William Washington (who married Eleanor Harrison) owing to the turbulent times under the rule of Cromwell, came to Virginia, bought a thousand acres at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac, in Westmoreland county,

and became planters. John relinquished Cave Castle, and Laurence, a student at Oxford, his professional career, for an humble home between the Potomac and the Rappahannock rivers. John married Miss Anna Pope. Their son Laurence married Mildred Warner, whose son, Augustine, marrying secondly, in 1730, Mary Ball, became the father of GEORGE WASHINGTON who was born on the old plantation homestead upon Pope's Creek six miles from where it empties into the Potomac.

The birthplace was destroyed by fire one morning in April, 1735. While servants were burning brush or refuse matter it took fire from the flying sparks, which fell upon its low pitched roof.

In June, 1815, this spot was identified and marked, A memorial stone was placed there by George Washington Custis, foster son of the General. Accompanied by a party of Revolutionary soldiers, he sailed from Alexandria in his own little vessel, and taking this tablet, wrapped in the American flag, and inscribed with these words: "Here the 11th of February, 1732, George Washington was born," placed it upon a foundation constructed of a few bricks taken from the ruins of the ancient chimney. It is the first monument erected to Washington. Contrasted with the towering shaft at the Capital, from the top of which this locality may be seen, it befittingly illustrates the growing affection for his memory in the hearts of his countrymen.

The family were immediately removed to an adjoining estate in Stafford

county, nearly opposite Fredericksburg. There the father had built a residence almost exactly like the one which had been burned. It stood upon the left hand of the Rappahannock, upon a steep slope, in sight of the town. It is known as "Washington's residence, near Fredericksburg." There the father of Gen. Washington died in April, 1734, and was buried in the old family vault at Bridge's Creek, by the side of his grandfather, Col. John Washington, the emigrant.

In this old Stafford homestead Augustine and Mary Ball Washington lived eight years, and there John, Augustine, Charles and a daughter, Mildred, were born.

Upon the death of the father an ample estate was left to "Mary, the mother of Washington," and her children. Laurence took the lands afterwards known as Mount Vernon, and George the old homestead near Fredericksburg. The military career of the accomplished Laurence terminated in his death, age 34, July, 1752, in this house, soon after a voyage to the West Indies in pursuit of health, accompanied by his favorite half-brother, George, who had a bad case of small-pox while absent.

Through the death of the daughter of Laurence without issue, Mt. Vernon passed to General Washington, according to the terms of the will of Laurence. In 1742 Laurence erected the first mansion at Mt. Vernon.

In honor of the gallant Admiral Vernon, with whom he had served in the wars in South America under the English flag, Laurence called his home Mt. Vernon. Here he lived with Anne, his wife, the beautiful daughter of Hon. William Fairfax.

George Washington, soon after his marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis, in 1750, moved to Mt. Vernon and lived in this old house until he enlarged it to its present dimensions, in 1785. The old building was not disturbed until the additions were completed, when it was modified and retained as a part of the present mansion—the whole the work of Washington. Here our first President lived until his death, December 14, 1799.

Two generations afterwards this home of the Washingtons in America passed, by purchase, to the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association, and now and forevermore, Mt. Vernon belongs to the women of the United States.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

A PIONEER JOURNALIST; OR THE FOUNDER OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS.

THIRTY years ago—April 19, 1859—William Newton Byers arrived in the Pike's Peak country. In the April number of this Magazine, (1889) Mr. Byers writes:

"I reached Denver on horseback on the 19th of April, on the night before the celebrated stampede began which carried back, or turned back on the plains, four-fifths of all the people who that year set out for the promised land. On the 21st of April the press arrived, and two days later, in the midst of a driving snowstorm, the first newspaper was printed."

With some curiosity the writer sought the original files of this now widely influential journal and read the first editorial written by Mr. Byers, under these discouraging conditions for founding such an enterprise. They are cheerful words indeed in view of the facts—a driving snowstorm and the stampede of four-fifths of his prospective subscribers. Here it is:—

SALUTATORY.

"With our hat in our hand and our best bow we this week make our first appearance upon the stage in the capacity of editor.

"We make our debut in the far west, where the snowy mountains look down upon us in the hottest summer

day as well as in the winter's cold; here, where a few months ago, the wild beasts and wilder Indians held undisturbed possession—where now surges the advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon enterprise and civilization; where soon, we fondly hope, will be erected a great and powerful state, another empire in the sisterhood of empires.

"Our course is marked out, we will adhere to it with steadfast and fixed determination, to speak, to write and to publish the truth and nothing but the truth, let it work us weal or woe.

"Fondly looking forward to a long and pleasant acquaintance with our readers, hoping well to act our part, we send forth to the world our first number of the *Rocky Mountain News*."

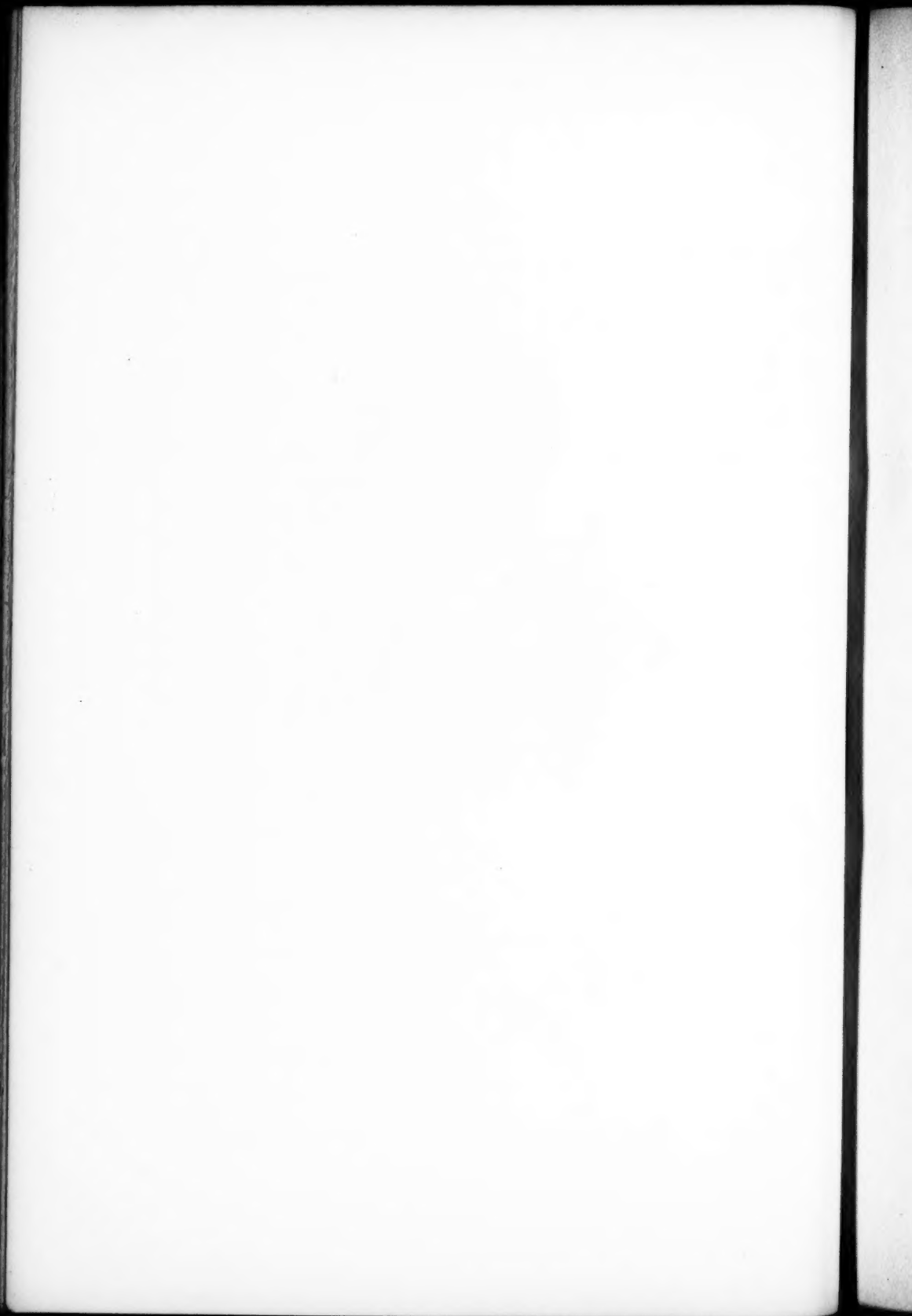
It appears from this that Mr. Byers did not come as a seeker of gold and silver—unlike the surging, thronging thousands of that early day. His singular purpose and ambition is revealed in the words—"where soon, we fondly hope, will be erected a great and powerful state, another empire in the sisterhood of empires." And then looking forward, not backward—

"That way madness lies,"

and hoping to act well his part, he entered upon his journalistic career which has accomplished his design in



Yours Very Truly.
Wm. H. Byers.



assisting to achieve a glorious statehood for Colorado, and a long and pleasant acquaintance with his readers.

As the preparation of this paper occurs upon the thirtieth anniversary of his arrival in the now state of Colorado, it occurs to the writer to regard Mr. Byers as one of the many human peaks which constitute the mountain range of Colorado history. He came first in 1852, when her majestic mountains had snow as now for a perpetual covering for their lofty heads, while at their feet no white man dared to walk unarmed. He first crossed them as a surveyor, looking upon them simply as mighty corrugations upon the brow of the continent—not as masses of mineral wealth in reserve for the millions who have gathered around their bases since he first sighted his compass across these plains, or stretched a chain over their now railroad-traversed sides and summits.

The robe of azure which then partly veiled the foothills has been transformed almost into a "customary suit of solemn black" by smoke from their miners' camps, many a smelter, and thousands of locomotives fed by coal disemboweled from their sides. While all this has occurred under the eye of Mr. Byers he has not simply been a "looker-on in Vienna." As the publisher of the *News* and its editorial writer for more than twenty years, he has had more to do and to say concerning the building of this state than any other living or dead pioneer.

A "History of Colorado" says:

"Not only was the *News* the first paper in the entire Rocky Mountain region, but, under Mr. Byers' management, it maintained its place in the very front rank of American journals. During all the varying fortunes of Colorado, the *News* was always faithful to its interests, while the face of its editor was a familiar one in every miner's camp and settler's cabin in the territory. He thus became familiar with the various interests of Colorado, and, while the press of the East denounced him as a falsifier, he continued to publish to the world, through the columns of his paper, the wondrous resources of the territory, its vast mineral wealth, its boundless agricultural and stock-growing facilities, and the marvelous salubrity of its climate. He undoubtedly knows Colorado better than any other man, has always had great faith in its future destiny, and has done more than anyone else, with his pen, to attract the attention of the world to her magnificent possibilities and make Colorado what she is to-day."

There is an air of romance about the biography of this pioneer surveyor and journalist. Solomon Brandenburg was the last of the electors of the long-standing family, the last of the local governors of his electorate, whose estates were confiscated for political reasons by the crown. Brandenburg Castle, once his manorial seat, is now occupied by Prince Herbert Bismarck, and is the subject of legal proceedings now pending between the heirs of Solomon Brandenburg (of whom Mr. Byers is a lineal descendant)

and the crown of Germany. His son, William Housen (of the House) Brandenburg, was the father of Mary Ann Brandenburg. Mr. Byers' father was a descendant of Thomas Byers of Scotland, who, for conscience sake, left his native land, settled in Ireland for a period, where the family fought for religious freedom, taking part in the siege of Londonderry. Thomas, Samuel and Andrew came to America. Andrew located in Pennsylvania in 1771. His son James moved to Ohio in 1806, bringing a son one year old, Moses Watson Byers, who married, December 3, 1828, Mary Ann Brandenburg. Their son, William Newton Byers, was born February 22, 1831, in Madison county, Ohio—the Scottish and German blood at last uniting in his veins in the valley of the Ohio, centuries after the confiscation of ancestral lands under despotic Germany, and generations after his paternal ancestor fled from Scotland because of religious persecution.

The origin of the Byers family is as remote and reputable as that of the house of Brandenburg. In a work, "Gentleman's Arms during the reign of Charles I.," are recorded "Arms on a monument in Greyfriar's Churchyard to John Byers, dean of guild and treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, who died in 1639."

The motto was "Rule be one"—a reference, doubtless, to the disputed question of the Divine right of kings to rule.

In 1850 the father removed to Iowa.

Two years afterward young Byers engaged in Government surveying and by the time he was of age had crossed the continent. He followed his profession as surveyor in Oregon and Washington territories; from there he went to California, returning to the States in 1854. He settled in Omaha when it had but one house, and, as county surveyor, made the survey of much of that city. He surveyed a large portion of Eastern Nebraska; was a member of the first Territorial Legislature of that state; took an active part in laying the foundations of Omaha and the state of Nebraska. He was a citizen of Omaha when the Pike's Peak excitement broke out. It was at this period that he determined to come to this country to engage in journalism, the interesting particulars of which are narrated in the article above mentioned: "Early Journalism in Colorado."

Mr. Byers married, at Muscatine, Iowa, November 16, 1854, Miss Elizabeth Minerva Sumner. Her father, Horatio Nelson Sumner, and her mother, Minerva E. Lucas, were married January 15, 1829—the mother being a daughter of Hon. Robert Lucas, Governor of Ohio, and afterwards Governor of the territory and state of Iowa, and the father of the same family that gave to Massachusetts Gov. Increase Sumner and Hon. Charles Sumner, and to the United States Army, Major-Gen. E. V. Sumner—all the descendants of William Sumner, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, A. D. 1636.

The children of Mr. and Mrs Byers

are Mary Eve, who married William F. Robinson, Esq., residents of Denver; and Frank Sumner Byers, who married Miss Mary Winifred Sullivan, an eastern lady. Mr. Frank S. Byers superintends the Byers Ranch, consisting of about five thousand acres in Grand County, or Middle Park. The famous Hot Sulphur Springs are situated upon this land, while Mt. Byers, rising nearly fourteen thousand feet high, overlooks all the beautiful natural park beneath—its pleasure resorts, its forests, abounding with game, and its streams alive with speckled trout.

When Mr. and Mrs. Byers came to Denver in August, 1859, their first place of abode was a half mud and half log cabin, situated upon the present site of the Franklin school-house in West Denver. It had an earth floor, and a roof through which the water dripped for days after any considerable rain, giving rise to the saying "It rains one day outside and ten days inside," the leaking through the roof generally continuing about that long. Their present home is a beautiful one in the midst of cultivated grounds upon the corner of Thirteenth avenue and south Fourteenth street.

In the accomplishment of the change from the first to the last home, much could be said in praise of the part taken in the long and sometimes doubtful struggle—the rough and toilsome jour-

ney—by the faithful pioneer wife. It is just to say that Mr. Byers owes his triumph over all obstacles to her wifely devotion in the midst of privations and misfortunes, "enough to break a royal merchant down," which Mr. Byers experienced both in Omaha and Denver. Not a seeker of gold or silver; not a fortune-hunter in the sense that so many were, but engaging in an enterprise to build a state, while earning his daily bread—his adventure was fully as problematical, without any chance whatever of "striking it rich." His career, therefore, illustrates the power of the press as a factor in the speedy up-building of a state, while it demonstrates, at the last that he possessed the elements of a successful journalist, overcoming and overcoming, until the place rightfully assigned Mr. Byers in the history of this commonwealth is that of Founder of the Press of Colorado.

With his name, however, should be associated that of the true and honorable companion without whom, constantly at his side, the husband, journalist and business man would not stand to-day upon that historical eminence. Just as many another unheralded pioneer wife and mother, she nobly acted her part,

Propped by ancestry,
Whose grace chalks successors their way.

H. D. T.

BANKS AND BANKERS OF COLORADO.

II

JOHN LLOYD McNEIL.

THE McNeils, or MacNeills, are one of the most ancient clans in the West Highlands of Scotland, and at a very early period divided into two great families, one in County Argyle, the other in Inverness.

The common ancestor was Torquille McNeill, Keeper of Castle Sween, before 1449. Malcolm McNeil was chief of the clan in 1493. In the history of this Highland family appear many honorable names, during the lapse of the centuries, down to the present. We meet with the often-recurring names of Malcolm McNeil, of Colonsay and Oronsay; Archibald McNeil, whose lands passed to his cousin John McNeil; Alexander McNeil, who left sons Archibald and John; John McNeil, again, who left sons John and Malcolm; the latter left a son, Archibald McNeil, writer of the Signet.

The family crest is an arm in armour embowed, the hand holding a dagger; motto, *vincere aut mori*—to conquer or to die.

About two hundred years ago Archibald McNeil emigrated from Scotland and settled near Stratford, Connecticut. The old homestead yet stands which he built and occupied. He sought our shores as a refuge from the civil and religious convulsions of that age,

and thereby transferred to American soil a limb from the family tree that had grown for centuries upon the beautiful, trampled hills of Scotland. It was as if a branch had been torn by these storms from the ancestral trunk, and, borne by favoring winds across the Atlantic Ocean, had found new earth and air and sky in which to take on a new growth. This was the mission of Archibald McNeil, the colonial ancestor of John Lloyd McNeil.

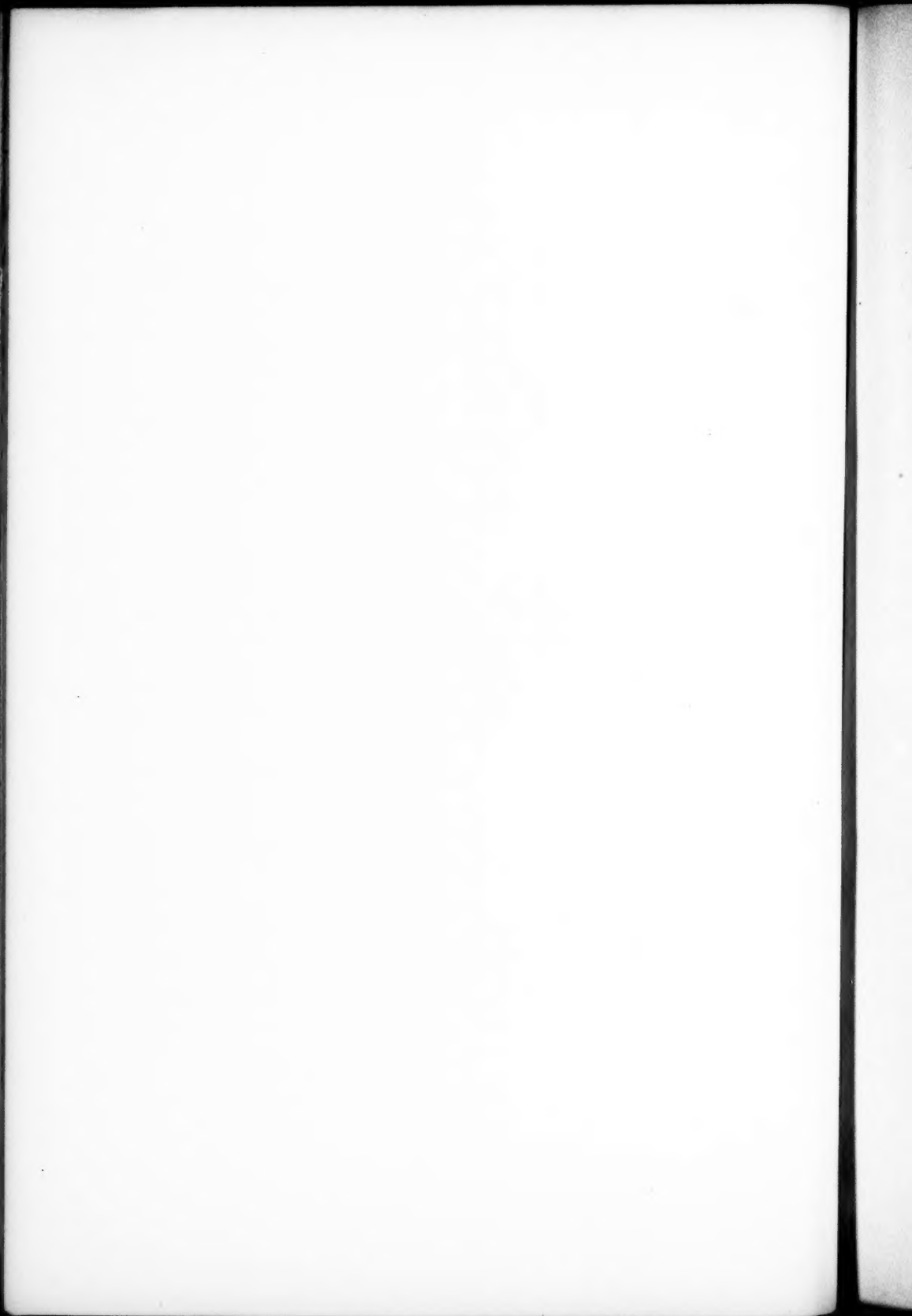
Upon the maternal side Mr. McNeil descended from John Brownson, of England, who settled at Hartford in 1636 with Thomas Hooker and removed to Farmington in 1641, where he was one of the "Seven Pillars of the Church," organized in 1652. His son Samuel was one of the first twelve settlers of New Milford, Connecticut; was the first Justice of the Peace and Judge of New Haven county, also a member of the Governor's Court; was the first deacon of the first church, and one of the most widely known men of his time.

John Lloyd McNeil was born in Owego, Tioga county, New York, May 8, 1849, being the eldest son of Stephen McNeil and Mary C. Goodsell. The present number of this MAGAZINE appears almost upon his fortieth birth-



Engraving of Western History

John L Meville



day. Within the years signified Mr. McNeil has achieved the distinction of being a successful financier, and the history of Colorado banking would not be complete without mentioning him. He is the efficient and popular president of one of the safest and best banks in the city of Denver. He had the advantages of a common school education, finishing at the village academy, an institution then of some note as a preparatory school.

Added to these were reading habits and close observation of men and affairs. In this way he acquired a practical education which fitted him for the remarkably successful career which he has led. He came to Denver May 1, 1870, and entered the Colorado National Bank, serving as teller, both paying and receiving for that prominent bank until January, 1876. This was most valuable experience. At the expiration of the time he went into business as banker at Del Norte, in company with Alvin B. Daniels (now deceased) and Messrs. J. F. and J. S. Brown, and William and Moritz Barth, under firm name of Daniels, Brown & Co., the partnership being unlimited—a fact that evinced the great confidence these shrewd capitalists reposed in Mr. McNeil. The firm of Daniels, Brown & Co. was stronger financially than any bank or business house then doing business in the territory of Colorado. After four years the bank was moved to Alamosa, where it still exists under the name of the First National Bank. A branch was established at Durango,

Colorado, in 1881, and is doing business there now as the First National Bank. Mr. McNeil retains large interests in these institutions.

When the bank was established at Del Norte it was one hundred and fifty miles from the nearest railroad terminus, and was the only bank in Southwestern Colorado, and furnished banking facilities for all that scope of country lying west of the Sangre de Cristo Range and south of the Arkansas river, as well as the northern counties of New Mexico. Its deposits ten years ago were \$600,000. Mr. McNeil has also extensively invested in lands and cattle in the San Luis Valley, and is vice-president of the La Jara Creamery Company in the same locality.

September 3, 1883, Mr. McNeil removed to Leadville, and organized the Carbonate Bank of Leadville, taking position of cashier. This bank was started under very adverse circumstances, as may be inferred, following the disastrous end of the Leadville Bank, and the failure of two others soon after. Confidence was shattered. Banking business was being diverted elsewhere. His adventure under these conditions required unusual courage, capacity to manage, and magnetic personal qualities to restore confidence in the banking business. These requirements were met with in Mr. McNeil, whose success is now a matter of history, as the Leadville bank, which he founded, has been in successful operation ever since and is now regarded as one of the most reliable institutions in Colorado. But

the strain upon his nervous system, in that altitude (10,200 feet above the sea level) became greater than he could endure, and necessitated his resignation as president in January 1887, after serving for two years in that capacity. He removed to Denver and, in April 1888, bought an interest in the State National Bank. The management of this institution represents a banking experience of twenty years. The volume of business has increased to three times the amount it controlled when Mr. McNeil became its head. He frequently has been offered positions of trust and responsibility in political affairs but always refused. His reputation as a conservative banker, who never speculates, results from this devotion to his profession.

He is a member of the Central Presbyterian Church, and was trustee from 1872 until 1876, when he went to Del

Norte Upon his return in 1887 was again elected trustee. He is now chairman of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade. He represents the Pennsylvania Lead Company of Pittsburg, negotiating its purchases of silver, gold and lead bullion to the extent of millions of dollars annually.

Mr. McNeil has been successful in all his business career. Something of the favorite sentiments of the McNeils of Scotland, *vincere aut mori*, has actuated him with corresponding results.

Personally, he is held in high estimation. His genial disposition makes friends of all who come in contact with him. Manliness and kindliness as a companion, and firmness and promptitude in business relations, are leading characteristics, rendering him at once the successful banker and the complete gentleman.

THE BAR AND BENCH OF DENVER AND COLORADO.

III

SAMUEL H ELBERT.

ELBERT is a surname reaching far backward into antiquity. It is identical with Albert in origin and meaning and is a contraction of the old Saxon Eth-Elbert, signifying bright.

The immediate ancestors of Judge Elbert were colonial settlers of Virginia. It is a professional family. Both his father and grandfather were eminent in the medical profession. The highest honors within the gift of the

University of Pennsylvania were bestowed upon his father; the late Dr. John D. Elbert. He removed from Kentucky to Ohio at an early period, and located in Logan county, where Judge Elbert was born, April 3, 1833. In his fourteenth year he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1854. The Master's degree followed *in cursu*.



S. W. Elbert

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While upon the Supreme Bench of Colorado the same University conferred the honor of Doctor of Laws, being the second instance of the kind in the history of the College. He prepared himself for his profession both at College and afterwards in the law office of Gen. N. B. Walker, at Dayton, Ohio. He was admitted to the bar in 1856; soon after removed to Iowa where he began the practice of his profession. The next move was to the territory of Nebraska, where he built up a fine practice and in 1860 he was elected to the council of the territorial legislature. It was at this period that Mr. Elbert was elected a delegate to the Chicago Republican Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln. Two years afterwards he was commissioned by President Lincoln Secretary of Colorado Territory, Hon. John Evans being appointed Territorial Governor about the same time. This official relationship resulted in closer personal friendship by the marriage, in 1865, of Secretary Elbert to Miss Josephine, the daughter of Gov. Evans. The death of Mrs. Elbert and their child at an early period in their married life cast a shadow over the heart of the husband which has never been lifted. Hence Judge Elbert has never re-married. Evans Chapel, Denver, was built in remembrance of the departed daughter and wife—Josephine Elbert—whose Christian character and endeavors for the good of others are thus effectually memorialized, while her life is hid with Christ in God.

When his commission expired as

Territorial Secretary, Gov. Elbert formed a law partnership with Hon J. Q. Charles. This firm commanded a large practice, and made prominent the qualifications of Governor Elbert for the Bench. He was in the Territorial Legislature of Colorado in 1869, and in 1872 was chairman of the Republican Central Committee. In 1873 he was appointed Governor of the territory upon petition of citizens thereof, and discharged the duties of his office with signal ability and universal satisfaction, for a time.

Unhappily, however, the clamor of Washington politicians prevailed against the voice of his fellow-citizens, and Gov. Elbert was superseded. He then went abroad, spending about two years in foreign cities, improving the time by close observations, taking copious notes of his travels.

The closing sentences of Gov. Elbert's message to the General Assembly in 1873-4 are given: "With these recommendations my duties cease and yours begin. The demands upon you are of no ordinary character. Our territory is just entering upon what, we hope, will be no limited career. In its present there is everything to inspire patriotism, enthusiasm, courage and faith. To foresee its destiny, we need no prophesy of genius or vision of seer. The first fruits of her soil and the broken seals of her mountain coffers reveal the possibilities of the future. In the purple of its dawn stand a young and vigorous people eager for the conquests at hand. Imbued with the spirit

of our institutions they seek victory on fields where victory is grandest. Around and about us, upon this hand and upon that, in the hum of contending industries, are heard the first notes of the opening battle. Their appeal to you is not for sword, or bayonet, or cannon, but for the mightier helps of good laws and good government. To this end they have committed to your keeping for a time the sacred ark of the laws. The economics of trade, the rights of man, the duties of citizenship, the truths of political economy, the nature and methods of constitutional liberty and constitutional government are the vital questions with which you must deal. To successfully mould and direct them, as agencies administering to the strength and intelligence, the broad purpose and high endeavor of this people, is the achievement of that noblest of human labors, the establishment of a state, when law and liberty co-exist, and mutually conserve the highest interests of man.

"To this end, upon your labors I invoke the blessing of God.

S. H. ELBERT,
Governor of Colorado."

His character and services as Chief Justice of Colorado are set forth in the following letter addressed to the writer, by a distinguished lawyer, as a contribution to the history of the Bar and Bench of Denver and Colorado:

"When upon the admission into the Union of Colorado as a state in 1876 Judge Elbert was called to the Supreme Bench then just organized, it was with

an undoubted confidence and expectation on the part of the bar and the people that he would discharge the duties of his high office to the utmost satisfaction of all. In this neither bar nor people was disappointed. To say that his career upon the bench was universally acceptable is not, as I have every reason to believe, in the least to over-stretch the truth; for when, in 1882, it became necessary to elect a successor to his place, the feeling and expression was widespread and general that he should again become a candidate, and, after it was publicly known, that for considerations of health and other causes he peremptorily declined, expressions of regret on every side were heard. Again in 1885, upon occasion of an election to fill a judicial term commencing in January, 1886, the same unlimited confidence was exhibited. As is well known, being influenced by like considerations which induced him to decline in 1882, it was on that occasion only after the most urgent solicitations of many people, and especially of many members of the legal profession, that he consented to resume a position upon the supreme bench. Such consent was followed by his triumphant election and return to the office, but only to meet with further public disappointment when towards the close of the year 1888 he was again compelled to withdraw from the laborious duties of the position. His resignation was generally looked upon as a serious public loss, and particularly so by and among the lawyers at large

who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring his return to the bench."

The foregoing facts ought of themselves to be a sufficient commentary upon Judge Elbert's ability and usefulness as a judge of the highest court of state, and that too at the outset of a new and independent form of government when so much depended upon the proper administration of its laws and moulding of its institutions at the hands of a wise, able and fearless judiciary. These facts sufficiently attest the possession of those superior qualities which originally commended him for such public service and in which, but for the unfortunate circumstance above alluded to, he would still have been retained. They attest the sense of the bar and people of the state and their appreciation of those qualities, and of the public services which he could render and has rendered in the position to which he was called. And the force of his example, the value of the lesson of his judicial life as shown by these facts, is very greatly strengthened when it is considered that he never sought the office but that the office invariably sought him. In these times, when we have most deplorably degenerated far below the high and noble spirit of modesty and decorum which actuated our republican fathers in the matter of judicial office, when aspirants do not wait to be called, but adopting the ignoble methods and devices of seekers for mere political office or preferment often of the lower grades, openly avow their candidacy and push and strive and

bargain for influence to obtain the place, such an example is most invaluable. Unmoved by the slightest imputation of that kind, it may be truly said of Judge Elbert as has been said of one of England's most eminent judges: "He has shown us that real merit will make its own way without any assistance, without any little arts or assiduities, and that the only certain method to have a good reputation is to deserve it. Such men are not only a blessing to the age in which they live, but to succeeding generations, by their being incentives to a similar behavior to posterity." His life, both official and personal, has never been tarnished by any stain nor darkened by any reproach. An upright, firm, decided, impartial, patient and learned judge, he was always regarded as a necessary complement to the court in which he sat and over whose deliberations he for three years presided. His judicial opinions by which he will be longest known and remembered, are characterized by a clearness, directness and force of thought and reasoning, as well as an ease and simplicity of language, which are in sharp contrast with too many of the productions of the modern bench. There is nothing long, nothing unnecessarily labored, nothing tedious or tiresome in them. They are always to the point and unusually free from discussions of matters not demanded by the case before him, in this last particular also most favorably comparing with what is otherwise too much the fashion and tendency of the times.

Obiter dicta is not a feature of them. In these respects, as well as others, they are well set and excellent models of his successors to work after and to follow.

"Many other things might be said of the judge, of his dignified and impressive manners and bearing, of his kindness, affability and complaisance to young and old alike, of his purity and generosity in all the relations of private life and of a citizen, of his social qualities and characteristics which have so endeared him throughout the large circle of his personal friends and acquaintances, and of his broad intelligence and general learning, but time and space forbid. In conclusion it may, without exaggeration, be said that his career has been not only one of great honor to himself but of great benefit to his adopted state which has delighted so much to honor him."

Another eminent jurist says: "In the Supreme Court, of which he was twice a member, Judge Elbert rendered his best public service. The distinguishing qualities of a good judge which are not often conspicuous at the bar or in political life here found appropriate expression. Chief among these qualities is that exquisite discrimination which discovers the true principle of justice in every guise and however it may be perverted or obscured by fallacious reasoning. In the law as in morals the line between truth and error is often narrow and in some minds indistinct. It is plain enough to one who is endowed with a clear sense of justice

and is faithful to it. He is not hampered by the most arbitrary rules of law, for recognizing the law as the true exponent of justice, every will yields to her supreme authority. And so in his high office Judge Elbert was always the true minister of justice who could find the right and wrong of every case and maintain the right with implacable obstinacy. And this was done with a grace of diction and brevity and force of reason which beguiles and convinces the reader. Opinions of courts are not often found to be light or agreeable reading, and every lawyer has great satisfaction in such as are neither prolix nor obscure."

The following excerpt from one of the decisions of Judge Elbert will illustrate the foregoing. It is taken from the case of the People *v.* May, December term, 1886, of the Supreme Court of Colorado. Chief Justice Elbert said: "It will not do to say that an actual existing antecedent mischief is essential to support a constitutional limitation, or an intent to limit; or that the absence of such an actual mischief excludes an intention to limit. On the other hand it is safe to say that whenever there is a power liable to be abused there is to be found a legislative motive for restraint. The multitudinous restraints of all constitutions proceed largely against possible mischief. To leave powers unlimited where there is a great temptation to abuse is to invite abuse. . . . Rules of construction have for their object the discovery of the true intent and meaning

of the instrument to be construed. If applicable, they are supposed to lead to the truth; if not applicable, and are notwithstanding applied, they lead astray. If we reject any of the many rules appealed to in this discussion, it is not because they are unsound but inapplicable."

As has been stated, in 1885 he was again elected to the Supreme Bench, much however against his inclinations. He served three years and then voluntarily resigned.

Judge Elbert's name is often mentioned in connection with offices of still higher trust and honor. The ardent wish of many of his friends is that his great abilities, long experience in public life and high character, public and private, may once more be available in promoting the interests of a state of which he is deservedly proud, much of the past prosperity being traceable to his official connection therewith. Judge Elbert has also been very active in promoting the railroad interests of the state, notably in the construction of

the Denver Pacific, Denver & South Park, and Denver, Texas & Gulf.

Mount Elbert, 14,352 feet high, was thus named in honor of the Governor by the miners of the San Juan region of the territory. The Washington authorities, pending the difficulties between the miners and Indians, had determined to expel the miners from the Indian reservation. Gov. Elbert's intercession with President Grant resulted in the appointment of a commission to treat with the Indians. A peaceful solution was reached. The Indians departed and the miners remained. Subsequently, when the Government made the survey of the country, a party ascended the mount in question to make triangulations. Upon reaching the summit a pile of stones was found which covered, as a protection, a bottle containing a written statement to the effect that the mountain had been thus named by the miners in grateful remembrance of Gov. Elbert for securing to themselves and other settlers the peaceable possession of the mountain and the surrounding land.
H. D. T.

KANSAS CITY AND MANIFEST DESTINY.

II.

THE great step cityward was taken by the town of Kansas in 1853, when it grew tired of the swaddling clothes of infancy, and determined to assume a municipal garb adequate to its ambitions, and available for a free

play of its purposes. A charter was obtained from the state legislature, although there was the inevitable protest from those whose fear of an increased taxation outweighed all chances of public or personal good. In April the

first municipal election was held, and the new machinery set in motion; although it was soon discovered that the elected Mayor, William S. Gregory, could not hold the office because he had not been a resident of the place long enough to be eligible under the terms of the charter. Dr. Johnston Lykins, the president of the Council, therefore filled the office for the remainder of the term—so acceptably, it may be said in passing, that at the end of the year he was chosen his own successor.

The earliest journalistic venture into a field that has since become so enterprising in a journalistic way, was made in 1851, when R. V. Kennedy established the *Kansas Ledger*, who carried it on for some fifteen months, when he sold out to one Epperson, who continued it for the same length of time; until it was removed to Independence, and blossomed forth under the name of the *Western Reporter*. In September, 1854, the *Kansas City Enterprise* arose to take the place of the departed, and from thenceforth the pioneers of that locality were not without an organ and an exponent of their own.

Gratifying signs of material development were by no means wanting. In 1856, the Board of Trade sprang into being. It was not, at first, an ambitious affair, but rather an informal gathering, where the business men met to discuss affairs, and to plan for the general commercial weal. In 1857, it was decided that a regular organization would be beneficial in various ways, and

accordingly the Chamber of Commerce was chartered by the state legislature on November 9. The list of incorporators will recall to the people of Kansas City the names of some of their oldest business men: Dr. Johnston Lykins, John Johnson, M. J. Payne, W. A. Hopkins, Thomas H. Swope, S. W. Bouton, Kersey Coates, Joseph C. Ranson, E. C. McCarty, H. M. Northrup, H. H. King, J. M. Ashburn, William Gillis, Dr. Benoist Troost, John Campbell and R. G. Stephens. The work this organization performed in many ways, was effective in advancing the interests of the little town; and although it became a thing of the past in the disorder and loss of civil war, its influence reached over into the better times of peace, and was felt in various beneficial ways.

The first bank of the city made its appearance during the peaceful and hopeful season that lay just before 1861. In 1859, branches of the Mechanics' Bank and of the Miners' Bank, of St. Louis, were established here to supply the increasing demands of business.

Nor did the railroad excitements of the decade of 1850-60 leave this remote point untouched. "It was a favorite dream of its earliest citizens," we are told, "encouraged by such men as Senator Benton, Gov. Gilpin and Gen. Fremont, that here would be a great distributing point, where the products of the North would meet the tropical products of the South; where the products of the manufactories of the East would meet the metallic wealth of the West, and the silks and teas of China

and Japan be exchanged and distributed throughout the world."

The first movement towards the twenty odd railroads that now focus their radiating lines at Kansas City, was made in a meeting held in 1856, the purpose of which was to pledge the funds needed for a preliminary survey of the Kansas City & Keokuk road, projected between the points named, which was to be a part of the great line toward Chicago and the East. The fact that the line did not spring suddenly into being as was hoped and expected, was neither the dearth of ambition nor the end of hope. Manifest destiny was still at work, but it was backed by determination and an exhibition of pluck and energy that kept rivals in defeat, and forced all purposes to success. Listen to the prophecies as voiced by the local press as early as 1858: "When the Kansas City & Keokuk road, the Pacific road, the Galveston road, with its branches into the mineral regions of southwest Missouri, the road to Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Kansas River Valley road, with its net work of branches over that great producing domain, the Platte country road, and the great national railway from the mouth of the Kansas to the Bay of San Francisco—when all these roads are constructed, Kansas City will then have a system of railroads, as complete and more extended than that of Chicago.

"She will then be the center of something—and the iron horse will be bringing here the products of the plains and mountains."

And again: "It is now a conceded fact that Kansas City is to become a great commercial city, controlling for years to come, the trade of the great Southwest. The discovery of gold upon the mountain branches of the Arkansas and South Platte, will fix, as additionally certain, Kansas City as the starting point to these gold regions, and places our city directly upon the line of travel from the East to the gold placers. New York must be assumed as the great focus of commerce on the Atlantic coast, and San Francisco that on the Pacific. With whatever of departure from these two great points we may have to contend, the main facts will be sustained, and the proper and natural effect of trade will be upon and along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. To induce, then, the location and construction of a great trunk road along this parallel should, with us, be a matter of the first importance, and engage our most cautious and diligent consideration."

Passing along in this general retrospect over that period which closed with the beginning of war, we discover many isolated points indicative of the condition of the city and the temper of the time. The first recognition by the general government of the needs of the inhabitants for postal service came in 1845 when a post-office was established. William M. Chick was the first postmaster appointed, and upon his decease, a short time thereafter, his son, W. H. Chick, became his successor. There was little of an official

character to engross his time, the mail coming but once a week, via Westport. The office was kept open all the day, and if the postmaster did not happen to be in, the patrons of the mail assorted out their own possessions and those of their immediate neighbors and carried them off, leaving what remained to be claimed as those to whom it was directed came along. The first office was kept in the warehouse on the southeast corner of Main street and the Levee, and in 1847 was removed to the store of Silas Armstrong a few doors to the east. Mr. Chick was succeeded by Daniel Edgerton, who carried the office to the northwest corner of Main and Fourth streets on the hill. It there remained until again removed by Samuel Geer, who carried it back to the Levee, between Main and Walnut streets. J. C. Ranson was the next postmaster, who allowed the office to remain where it was, a pigeon-holed case some three feet square supplying all the space needed to take care of all the mail received. George W. Stebens served from 1858 to 1860, his office being located on the Levee, just east of Walnut street.

The judicial growth of the city followed the various pioneer stages. Jackson county, in which Kansas City is located, took on legal form in 1826, Independence being selected as the county seat. On November 20, 1855, a special act was passed by the Legislature establishing a Court of Common Pleas at Kansas City, the growth of the place being such as to demand more

convenient facilities for the transaction of legal business. The bar that practiced before this court was filled with men of ability and character, many of whom have made their mark upon the judicial and general history of the West. The jurisdiction of the court was at first extended to Kaw township, but was afterwards enlarged to include range thirty-three and to the whole county in the matter of attachments. Its first term was held in January, 1856, with William A. Strong upon the bench; Joseph A. Finlay, clerk; and Joseph P. Howe, marshal, in a building on the Levee, between Main and Walnut streets. The subsequent history of this court has been thus outlined: Judge Strong was succeeded in August, 1856, by Lot Coffman, who held the October term; E. M. Sloan, clerk, and Howe, marshal. Judge Coffman was one of the pioneers of the city, and his name is permanently identified with the early history of the city and county as school teacher, county and city surveyor, justice of the peace, and finally judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was a true type of the enterprising Yankee, ready to turn his hand to anything that offered to make an honest living and faithful in all the trusts reposed in him. Judge Coffman was followed by J. K. Sheely, who held his first term April 10, 1859. Howe, who was also city marshal, was succeeded by Francis M. Barnes; and E. M. Sloan, clerk, by John S. Hough, who was clerk to 1860, when he was succeeded by Charles F. Smith, who held



Portrait of a man

C. V. A. Aeden.

the office until 1863. The next in the order of judges was Jacob S. Boreman, in 1861, followed by J. W. Jenkins in 1867, who was the last. Barnes was succeeded as marshal by Jonathan

Richardson, and Smith, clerk, by Charles H. Vincent, who retained the office until the court expired in 1871.

EDWARD L. EAMES.

SMELTING AND REFINING IN COLORADO.

EDWARD ROYAL HOLDEN.

An original parchment pedigree in the possession of Col. Henry Holden, of Holden House, Lancaster, England, commences with Robert de Holden and deduces the descent in an unbroken line from John Holdene de Holdene A. D. 1189. The family held manors in County Chester, time of Edward the Confessor, as evidence by Domesday Book. The name, according to Whitaker, is from two Saxon words—Hold and Dene, Dene signifying a dale, valley, or manor. The family motto, inscribed upon the Holden Coat of Arms was and is—*Et teneo et teneor*—"I both hold and am held," alluding to the tenure by which they held their manors which also bound them by knightly allegiance, in the old feudal days, to the Lord of the Manor.

To this ancient source Edward Royal Holden traces his family genealogy connectedly. He was born in New York city, September 27, 1855.

But nothing inures to Mr. Holden from "this long derived lineage" except hereditary traits, an inflexible will, when conscious of the right, and a tendency which led him to achieve professional success and a competency so

early in life. His birth occurred in the decade which marks the period of the greatest gold excitement in the history of our country—about midway between 1849 and 1859. As a scientific writer Mr. Holden has given an account of the particular circumstances giving rise to this excitement, in a series of scholarly and scientific papers; notably upon "The Treasures of the Earth" and "The Discovery of Gold in California."

Mr. Holden writes: "California attracted but little attention until the rumors of gold discoveries changed, as if by miracle, the aspect of affairs. This discovery occurred in a singular manner. In September, 1847, Captain Sutter, a Swiss by birth, contracted with a Mr. Marshall for the construction of a saw-mill in a pine forest. The supply of water to the mill was so situated as to wash down much mud and gravel, from the highest course of the stream, and Mr. Marshall, while watching one day the progress of his work, observed some glittering particles in this mud. The shining spangles proved to be gold."

About ten years afterwards the Rus-

sell party re-discovered gold in Pike's Peak country. Then rose another wave of excitement, which brought from all points converging tides of gold-seeking humanity.

With sounds like these coming from the distant west and falling upon his youthful ear, the resolution was formed to acquire an education suited for a life of scientific investigation and adventure in the gold and silver regions of the Rocky Mountains. To this end he applied himself by a special course of instruction under Pierre de Peyster-Ricketts, of Columbia College, the well-known author of Ricketts' "Manual of Assaying."

He also took a very extensive and thorough course of study under the celebrated chemist and metallurgist, Professor Welshire, of New York city, formerly of London. He laid the foundations in this way for his reputation as an assayer, chemist and scientific miner. Perhaps these qualities had their most complimentary recognition in the words of Judge Goddard, uttered upon appointing Mr. Holden receiver of the celebrated Emma Mine, at Aspen.

It was shown upon trial that fabulous sums of ore had been extracted, and it was estimated at the time that there "was one million dollars worth of ore open to the naked eye."

Upon granting the application the court said it had scanned the field carefully and selected a gentleman whom he regarded competent in every respect, "who was not only able to tell what a

piece of ore was but to present intelligently its constituent parts."

In passing it may be stated that he held this position about six months when he was discharged because of the settlement of the difficulties between the parties to the suit which had brought about his appointment. During that time he collected and, upon order of the court, distributed \$120,000 as dividends.

Mr. Holden came to Leadville in 1880, and began as a miner, bringing into practical application his scientific education. A fascinating writer says: "A few years ago Edward Royal Holden was a wage-worker in the Little Pittsburg Mines; but no one frowned upon him for that, for beneath the tallow-dusted garments they saw the struggling sunrise of a brilliant career. Those who were interested in him followed that destiny into the alchemist office, and on until they found him at the head of the most extensive sampling works in the mountains. His indomitable will was next seen in the most improved smelter in Denver, bearing his name."

He next became a discoverer of mines—the principal one being the famous "Nellie S." This led him to conceive the idea of establishing Sampling Works, which he at once erected at Leadville, the first of the kind in this country. For ten years he was the largest purchaser of ores in value and tonnage, his purchases amounting to many millions. His next move was to establish the "Holden Smelting Works in Denver" of which he was president and general

manager until his retirement for the purpose of establishing the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company, of Pueblo, of which he is now president and general manager. We copy from the *Mining Industry*: "When Mr. Holden severed his connection with the Holden Smelting Company of Denver, and with the well-known Guggenheims of Philadelphia organized the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company, it was decided by the company to build a plant that should embody all those requisites for operation upon a large scale, that his previous successful experience in Denver had shown were necessary; and the works as they now stand are a model of their kind; with every improvement for facilitating and cheapening smelting operations that would pass the test of experienced judgment. As our readers are aware, the citizens of Pueblo fully realizing the importance of establishing themselves as a manufacturing centre, made royal gifts as a subsidy to secure the location of the new smelter, 100 acres of land, \$25,000 in money being freely donated, and now that these works stand before them, they realize that their efforts have been already repaid, and they have value received in the acknowledged present effect upon the entire business of the city. The success and permanence of the enterprise thus inaugurated is assured by the character of the men who compose the company. Mr. E. R. Holden, the president and general manager, is one of the best known men of this state, his brilliant and successful

career from small beginnings but a few years since, having attracted the attention of business men everywhere. His last achievement was the organization and successful operation of the present Holden Smelting works of Denver; which still retain the name of their founder, although he severed his connection with them upon the organization of the new company. No one can fail to recognize the public benefits of the intellect and energy that has created one after another of such great enterprises, furnishing employment and homes to thousands of our citizens. Mr. Richard Cline, vice-president of the company, has been associated with Mr. Holden in all his previous enterprises, and has had a wide experience in every branch of mining and smelting. The arrangement and construction of the works are the results of the labor of Mr. E. B. Kirby, its superintendent, together with the assistance of Mr. Franz Cazin, mechanical engineer, of Denver, Colorado. To the experience of these gentlemen is united the powerful financial support of M. Guggenheim & Sons, the noted financiers and manufacturers of Philadelphia, who are well known in Colorado through the success that has attended their judicious mining operations; their property, the A. Y. and Minnie mines of Leadville, being one of the most valuable in the state. They are personally represented by Mr. Benjamin Guggenheim, the secretary and treasurer. Building began June 5th and has been followed by seven months of construction which was pushed with

unusual energy and rapidity. The works have been laid out upon an immense scale, covering ten acres of land. Five miles of railroad track have been graded and built within the grounds. The construction is everywhere of the most solid and permanent character. Six thousand cubic yards of excavation, four million brick, two thousand cubic yards of stone masonry and two million feet of lumber have been used, together with vast quantities of iron and other building materials. For the separation of base bullion into refined lead and bar silver and gold, a refinery which will be the largest in the state, is also located and included within the plant and will be built within a year. The plant comprises three buildings for ore mixtures, each of 5,000 tons capacity; a sampling department of unusual size comprising three separate and complete ore crushing mills; together with a number of other large buildings for the machinery and steam power, the storage of ores, machine and repair shops, store-houses, etc. A handsome office and laboratory building, together with large club house for the residence of officers and office employees, stand at a distance from the works in the midst of a ten-acre tract that has been reserved to be beautified with lawns, trees, a lake, etc. The entire area in its busy activity is a remarkable illustration of the change that may be wrought upon our so-called barren prairie when touched by capital in the hands of enterprising men."

The *Denver Republican*, under date of February 21, 1889, says: "Under

the direction of Mr. Edward R. Holden, the originator of the Philadelphia Smelting Company of Pueblo, and with the co-operation of his millionaire associates, the Messrs. Guggenheim, the works of this company promise to be increased until they shall exceed in magnitude anything that has been attempted so far in their line, and stand pre-eminent as the most extensive and complete reduction and refining works in the world. The company started with a capital of \$500,000 and erected six water jacket shaft furnaces and other equipments, but the promise of business has been so flattering that the company considered itself fully justified in providing for a greater capacity. In response to this demand the capital stock of the company has been increased in the last fortnight to \$1,250,000, and plans are now being prepared to enlarge the works to twelve blast furnaces, 36x120 inches each, and to increase the number of roasting furnaces to eighteen. The continued increase in the production of silver-lead ore in the West would seem to warrant all the additions now proposed to Colorado smelters. Mr. Holden will doubtless succeed in securing his portion of the output of Rocky Mountain silver mines."

The subject and enterprise of cattle raising has also engaged his attention. Upon his ranch at Wichita Falls, Texas, are about five thousand cattle. Mr. Holden's office contains an extensive collection of books upon stock raising. He has been a delegate to all the Inter-

State Conventions of Cattlemen, where his voice was frequently heard in the deliberations. His cattle brand is a "Crescent" and the initial "H," cruciform upon the right side. As a Republican, Mr. Holden was a candidate for state senator of Colorado from Lake County, but suffered defeat, with the entire ticket, for party reasons. His name has been frequently suggested in connection with other state offices, but to this he gives no encouragement, so completely is he occupied with his business.

The "Great Four Mile Gold Bubble" was exposed as a "salted mine" through his and his partner's (Mr. Chanute's) investigations. The intelligence which he evinced in his report carried conviction to the mind of every reader, and his name was greatly strengthened thereby as an authority upon metallurgy and assaying.

Three cities—Leadville, Denver and Pueblo—regard the public enterprise of Mr. Holden as intimately connected with their general welfare. The uniform

success that has attended his career has been the source of general prosperity—a matter of great gratification to himself, for generosity is not a thing apart from his genius for creating industries.

Colorado has a gentleman in Mr. Holden who has not been a citizen ten years; but who has done more in any decade of her history to extend the name of Colorado as a gold and silver producing state? *Holden*, as a name, is associated with the refining of her metals as much as any other name to be found upon her long list of successful capitalists. Has Mr. Holden made any mistakes of judgment in his enterprises or failures in their operation? Not yet. Whether it involves the expenditure of thousands or hundreds of thousands, if the enterprise stands the test of his considerate judgment, it is made, and the result has never yet dishonored his expectations.

The miner-student of 1880 is now a capitalist and the trusted and successful manager of the capital of others.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

PHILADELPHIANS OF TO-DAY.

FURMAN SHEPPARD.

A marked figure at the Philadelphia bar is that of Furman Sheppard, who entered the practice of law over forty years ago, and who, by continuous devotion to the highest demands of the profession, by an ability that has been equal to the most severe requirements, and an integrity that has never been

deflected from the true line of duty, has won his way into the front ranks of a body of men who collectively are among the ablest of American jurists. It was not by chance or accident that this high plane was reached, but altogether through merit and a worthiness that was sure of reward.

Mr. Sheppard was born at Bridgeton, Cumberland county, New Jersey, in 1824. After the usual preparatory course he entered Princeton College, from which he graduated with distinction in 1845. Upon his departure from college, he devoted himself for a time to teaching the classics and mathematics in schools and private families, and then commenced the study of law with Judge Garrick Mallery. He was admitted to the bar September 7, 1848, and remained for several years associated with Judge Mallery in the active management and conduct of the business of his office. His range of subsequent practice has included many cases of importance and responsibility in the Federal as well as the State Courts, and the professional ability therein displayed is conceded by the bar, and has not been without frequent mention and recognition by the bench.

Mr. Sheppard was not allowed to remain altogether free from the administration of public trusts, his first call coming in the form of a nomination by the Democrats of Philadelphia, in 1868, to the office of District Attorney of the city of Philadelphia, and in October of that year he was elected for the term of three years. The entire city ticket was claimed to have been elected by the Democrats, but this being disputed a contest was entered upon by the Republicans and the matter went before the courts. A decision was rendered affirming the election of D. M. Fox, as Mayor, but annulling that of the District Attorney, the Receiver of Taxes,

and some others. Mr. Sheppard, obtained a re-hearing of his case, in which it was shown that the Court, in deciding against him, had committed an arithmetical error, and he was thereupon restored to the office as its rightful possessor. In the meantime, for about six months, it had been occupied by Charles Gibbons, the opposing candidate. An appeal from this latter decision was made and the case carried before the Supreme Court, where, on review, the judgment of the inferior court was affirmed in the case of Mr. Sheppard, who thereupon resumed the duties of the District Attorneyship, his administration being marked throughout by energy and a high sense of responsibility. In 1871 he was re-nominated, but by means of a local and special election law, which had been enacted in the meantime, he was defeated by a small majority. In 1874 he was unanimously nominated again by the Democratic County Convention, and was endorsed by the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association. After a campaign almost unexampled in its activity and earnestness, and which aroused more than a merely local interest, he was again elected by a vote of nearly six thousand above the average of that received by the Democratic State ticket, while the vote of his opponent was reduced over eight thousand below that of the Republican State ticket. The term to which Mr. Sheppard was thus elected expired on the 1st of January, 1878. This was a series of endorsements at the hands of the

people, of which any man might well have reason to feel proud.

When notified of his third nomination to this important office, in July, 1874, Mr. Sheppard addressed a letter to the committee which notified him of the action of the Convention, which well illustrated his position relative to that office. The following is an extract: "My occupation brings me in contact with persons of all shades of political opinion and of all classes of society, and I am constrained to say that the feeling which pervades the general body of citizens, as respects our municipal misgovernment, is one of mortification, disgust and apprehension, to such an extent, indeed, that public spirit and local pride seem to languish in our city, good men shrink, or are driven into retirement, and thus the management of public business is the more easily usurped or retained, by knavery, mediocrity and disrepute." Mr. Sheppard paid especial attention to the despatch of criminal business arising during the Centennial summer, and by procuring the establishment of a Magistrate's Court on the Centennial grounds for the immediate hearing of criminal charges, and by other arrangements, he succeeded in most cases in having offenders indicted, tried, and sentenced within a few hours after the commission of the offense. This rapid proceeding was popularly designated as "Sheppard's Railroad," and it, in connection with the vigilant co-operation of Mayor Stokely, entirely broke up the preparations of the criminal class

for plundering Centennial visitors. Having accomplished what he believed to be his duty in connection with that most important branch of the public service which was under his charge, he announced his determination in 1877 to decline a renomination, and to resume his private practice. This announcement was received by the public with a very reluctant acquiescence, and a reconsideration of it, although strongly urged, was finally declined.

The ability and faithfulness shown in the discharge of the duties of the one office were considered by the people to give guarantee of a like course in a yet more important branch of the public service. Prior to the meeting of the Democratic State Convention of 1877, a very general impression prevailed that the nomination for the then existing vacancy in the Supreme Court would probably be conceded to Philadelphia, and Mr. Sheppard consented to the use of his name as an aspirant for the position. Upon the presentation of his name to the convention it was met with many marks of approval; and there followed one of the most remarkable contests of ballots ever seen in a nominating convention. On the first ballot Mr. Sheppard received 64 votes to 73 for John Trunkey, of Venango, and 116 were scattered among seven other candidates; on the second ballot Mr. Sheppard led with 103 votes, Trunkey having 100 only, with 48 scattering; during the progress of the third ballot, which appeared to stand 125 for Trunkey to 124 for Sheppard, the excitement ran very

high. The chairman finally decided that the third ballot must be taken over and the roll was again called. All the candidates were dropped but Messrs. Trunkey and Sheppard and the vote between them ran singularly even. They were not ten votes apart at any time; they were exactly even at 85, again at 90, again at 97, again at 100, again at 107, again at 113, again at 117, again at 120, again at 122, and the roll closed with Trunkey 123 and Sheppard 123, with five not voting. Two more votes were cast and it stood 124 to 124. Then the chairman voted for Trunkey, and as the two other delegates were absent, Mr. Sheppard was defeated by one vote. Mr. Sheppard's defeat was brought about by a defection in the Philadelphia delegation. At the Democratic Convention in 1878, he was again a candidate for Supreme Court Judge, and again his chances for the nomination were sacrificed by antagonism in the Philadelphia delegation, one-half of which voted for Judge Henry P. Ross, of Montgomery, who was nominated on the first ballot. Judge Ross received 162 votes, to 71 for Sheppard and 10 for Edward S. Golden, of Armstrong.

For several years after 1878 Mr. Sheppard devoted his energies entirely to the practice of his profession. However, on the 24th of January, 1884, having been unanimously nominated by the Democratic convention as a candidate for the office of City Solicitor, and endorsed by "The Citizens' Committee of One Hundred," he

again entered the political arena. His written acceptance of this nomination, addressed to the committee which acquainted him with the action of the convention, was as follows:

"Gentlemen:—In reply to the communication which you have just handed me, informing me of my nomination as City Solicitor, I may say at once that I accept it. Indeed, it has been tendered so unanimously and spontaneously that to do otherwise would be almost an act of rudeness. Should it be the pleasure of the citizens of Philadelphia to ratify your action, I shall earnestly endeavor to discharge the duties of the position with whatever of ability I may possess, and with a full sense of the double obligation, professional and official, resting on me."

Despite the demands of these many public and professional labors, Mr. Sheppard's liberal taste has led him to devote spare time to the study of languages and literature. In the *Vocabulary of the Philosophical Sciences*, published by the late Rev. Charles P. Krauth, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the author expresses his acknowledgment for friendly and useful suggestions, among other named persons, "to Hon. Furman Sheppard, who, known to the world as one of our most distinguished jurists, is also one of our ripest philosophical scholars and thinkers." By appointment of Gov. Robert E. Pattison, Mr. Sheppard served for a number of years as an Inspector of the Eastern State Peniten-

tiary, at Philadelphia, and his interest in matters of science and literature has led to his election as a Trustee of the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and to membership in the American Philosophical Society. In the year 1855, for the purpose of introducing the systematic study of the principles of the Constitution of the United States as a branch of instruction in schools, he prepared a work entitled, *The Constitutional Text-Book*, together with an abridgment of the same, entitled, *First Book of the Constitution*. Each of these works was extensively circulated, and largely used as a text-book in schools and colleges. As a student Mr. Sheppard is thorough; his devotion to science, philosophy, language and let-

ters, being the relief he seeks from the labors of his profession. The Greek and Latin classics are open to him because of his thorough and ready knowledge concerning them, and he is quite familiar with the French and German languages and literature.

At the present time Mr. Sheppard holds the office of Solicitor of the Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia. He is yet one of the active men of the bar, and with the strength that comes from temperate living, and in the use of that wisdom, culture and legal knowledge which years of study, thought and active experience have given him, he finds his usefulness measured only by the limits of the wide field in which he labors.

JOHN C. BULLITT.

When John C. Bullitt decided in the early days of his brilliant and successful career as jurist, as statesman and as man of practical business affairs, to make his home in Philadelphia, where a field might be found commensurate to his ambition and ability, he brought with him not only a purpose of hard work, but that other and needful incentive—the knowledge that he had chosen aright in the labor of life, and was well equipped for the contest upon which he was to enter. Although as yet a young man, he had “won his spurs” in the courts of Kentucky, and given very visible evidence of the material of which he was made. While he would be the last to base any claim

upon merits other than his own, the fact no less remains that he comes of an honored ancestry that not only goes back through several generations of hardy and high-minded Americans, but into the ranks of those noble people who suffered much and braved much for the sake of conscience—the French Huguenots.

Mr. Bullitt is the son of William C. and Mildred Bullitt, the French blood coming by inheritance of the father; while the mother counted among her ancestors Joshua Fry, who emigrated from England prior to the Revolution, and held a prominent position in the colonial history of Virginia. At the time of his death he was in command

of the colonial troops, and was succeeded by George Washington, who was then a lieutenant-colonel. His paternal grandfather, Alexander S. Bullitt, removed to Kentucky about 1783, and was president of the convention which framed the first constitution of the state; his father, William Christian Bullitt, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, which framed the present state constitution, while other members of the family were noted for their distinguished services to the state. He was born in Jefferson county, Kentucky, on February 10, 1824. He received a liberal education in the best private schools, and having matriculated at Centre College, Danville, of his native state, passed through the regular curriculum, and at eighteen years of age, graduated in a most creditable manner, with the honors of his class.

He had already discovered the field best fitted to his talents, and entered upon the study of his chosen profession, taking a three years' course at the University of Lexington. Admitted to the bar at Louisville, in May, he removed to Clarksville, Kentucky, in the September following, and began the practice of his profession. He soon returned to Louisville as a more congenial field, and while there so successfully conducted an important criminal case that he won the approval of the older members of the profession, who prophesied for him a brilliant career. In 1849 he wisely chose Philadelphia as the field of his life labor; and although a stranger and dependent

upon his own exertions altogether—at a time, too, when the city bar contained an unusual number of brilliant and distinguished men—he felt no hesitation but claimed the opportunity which he knew he could adequately maintain. The first important case that came to him showed the confidence which was reposed in him by the leading business men of his own state. He took charge of the assets of the Schuylkill Bank, an institution which had been decreed to the Bank of Kentucky, to make good losses sustained by the latter by reason of the over-issue of their stock by the cashier of the former bank. Although Mr. Bullitt was both young in years and practice, the Kentucky Bank trusted him with the great responsibility; and although thus placed in charge of property amounting to nearly a million dollars, everything was shrewdly handled and the affair wound up in a most admirable manner. The property consisted of bonds, stocks, real estate in Philadelphia, and coal lands in Schuylkill county; and he conducted the sale of the assets with rare judgment, and to the perfect satisfaction of those by whom he had been employed.

One of Mr. Bullitt's early public appearances in Philadelphia placed him in an advantageous light, and gave the people a hint of his power and the versatility of his gifts. Like other young men of his native state he was educated in the political faith of the Whig party, as promulgated by Henry Clay, and to believe that the doctrines he maintained were the only true prin-

ciples for the construction of the Federal Constitution and the administration of public affairs. Early in 1850 a great public meeting was arranged in Philadelphia to endorse the famous Compromise measures which Mr. Clay had proposed, and which the public were discussing with all the heat and excitement of those trying times. The young Kentuckian was invited to speak upon that occasion, and by his eloquence, vehemence and close acquaintance with public questions won the plaudits of all present, and the commendations of those to whom a report of his address went forth.

When the Whig party dissolved, and its members formed along the new lines of division, Mr. Bullitt was led by his view of the duty of a citizen, to take part with the Democrats, and was as courageous in the defense of his political faith under the new condition of affairs as he had been under the old. While opposing secession, he was not in favor of the radical measures of the Republicans, and expressed the opinion that the war of the Rebellion was precipitated more by the blind enthusiasm of contending factions than by any other cause. His great polemic powers, and his courage in the expression and defense of any opinion he held, led him into frequent discussions of the burning questions of the day; and he never wrote to better advantage than in 1862, when he penned his opinion on the *Habeas Corpus* controversy, in answer to the arguments advanced by the late Horace Binney—a paper en-

titled: "A Review of Mr. Binney's Pamphlet, of the Privilege of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* under the Constitution." This reply was acknowledged by lawyers in general, and by Mr. Binney in particular, as a masterpiece of controversial logic.

Mr. Bullitt's practice and reputation grew apace, and he was soon recognized as one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania bar; and while taking part in public movements he did not do so to the neglect of his profession. His ability to untangle legal skeins, and to advise where sound advice was of more value than litigation, became well known, and he was constantly called upon to exercise these faculties. His peculiar fitness in this direction was exemplified in the case of the Philadelphia & Reading Company which he dragged out of the slough of legal complication. A syndicate of capitalists undertook to reorganize the company, and called in Mr. Bullitt to assist and advise them. Under his careful and prudent advice they exceeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the stockholders, and placed the company in a more secure position than it had held for years, accomplishing a result unequalled in the history of commercial litigation, negotiating amicably, and without judicial sale or the aid of a bankrupt court, the reorganization of an insolvent corporation owning millions of dollars, represented by various classes of securities. At the time of the great J. Cooke & Co. failure, the opening blow in the

long series of disasters known as the panic of 1873, Mr. Bullitt proved himself one of the few masters of the situation, and one capable of giving such advice as should serve best the interests of all concerned and stay the tide of general ruin. Through his exertions the creditors were induced to have a trustee appointed for the purpose of winding up the establishment. This was particularly difficult of accomplishment, but success crowned the effort at last, and Edwin M. Lewis was made trustee; and the wisdom of Mr. Bullitt's method of settlement was shown in the gradual payment of all the creditors. In the great Whitaker will case—one of the famous causes of the judicial history of Pennsylvania—Mr. Bullitt once more displayed those rare qualities which have made his life one of unusual success. The case grew out of a conspiracy on part of several persons to secure by the forgery of a will the estate of one Robert Whitaker, valued at a million dollars or more. The skill and cunning of these parties, their boldness, and the amount of money involved, made the case one of the famous of the time, standing beside the great Tichborne case in these respects, and to Mr. Bullitt belongs the credit of defeating the conspiracy and of sending the principal conspirators to a deserved punishment.

In the celebrated Gen. Fitz John Porter case, Mr. Bullitt's ability, perseverance and masterly management led to the reversal of the decree against that officer and a juster view of his

rights and injuries by the public at large.

The story of Gen. Porter's long fight for justice is well known, and need not be repeated here. In 1878 Gen. Porter called on Mr. Bullitt and asked his aid, and the latter relinquished a trip to Europe already planned, and so entered into the lists with all his power and skill, that the wrong was at last righted so far as was then possible, and the cloud so long hanging over a brave officer removed. Many other important cases with which Mr. Bullitt has been connected might be cited in evidence of his great practice and success at the bar, but those enumerated must suffice. He has been so busy therein that he has had little time for the holding of office, his service in the state constitutional convention of 1874 comprising his main record in that respect.

But the chief labor in behalf of others which stands to Mr. Bullitt's credit in any summing up of his life work, was in connection with the creation and adoption of the charter under which Philadelphia is now governed—an instrument which constitutes a monument of which any man might be proud, combining as it does the true principles of government with the spirit of practical business sense. Mr. Bullitt was the author of this instrument, and the planning and drafting of the same has been well called the crowning triumph of his life. He was appointed one of a commission to devise a better instrument than that then in use, for the government of cities of the first class—

meaning Philadelphia. Two years of labor were given by the commission to the preparation of a plan superior to the one then in use, but no direct result followed, because of the failure of the legislature to act. But Mr. Bullitt was not discouraged, and in 1882, with Henry C. Lea and others, he prepared a measure known thereafter as the "Bullitt bill," entitled, "An act to provide for better government of cities of the first class, for the commonwealth." The city councils of Philadelphia awoke to the importance of the subject, and a special joint committee was appointed to prepare and present an improved method; and the result was the following of Mr. Bullitt's idea,

and in 1885 the legislature passed the bill. The measure went into effect April 1, 1887, and has proved an unqualified success.

Were one to summarize the leading mental characteristics of John C. Bullitt, they would be summed up as a sound judgment, a thorough knowledge of the law, unusual business aptitude, indomitable energy and spotless integrity. With all the elements that insure success and command respect, he has worked his way steadily to a high position at the American bar, and has faithfully and patriotically advanced many of the best public interests of the city of which he has been so long a part.

JOSEPH M. GAZZAM.

In these days, when the principle of evolution is so generally recognized, it is certainly gratifying to be able to claim descent from men and women of the past who have left distinguished "footprints upon the sands of time." Good family is not, of course, everything; yet, when heredity is considered (as it properly should be in analyzing the characteristics of an individual), it then becomes an important factor, inasmuch as mental capacity is subject to the same general laws that govern physical structure. It is true that many of the greatest names on the pages of the world's history have been won by men of obscure parentage, but, upon investigation, it will be found that such have

been endowed by nature with indomitable will power and robust health. Thus, by a combined strength of mind and body, they have been enabled to acquire traits and habits not originally inherent, and such men must necessarily mark an advance in the family to which they belong. There are also many men who have gained distinction in the busy whirl of life without the incalculable aid of health. In such it will usually be found that inherited mental capacity has played a prominent part.

Hon. Joseph M. Gazzam may, with propriety, be classed among the latter. Descended from parents of learning and refinement, it seems but natural that he

should evince a desire for similar characteristics, and, despite almost continuous ill-health, acquire distinction in his professional, political and social career.

He was born in the city of Pittsburgh on December 2, 1842, being the second son and third child of Dr. Edward D. and Elizabeth Antoinette Gazzam. Owing to precarious health, the first fourteen years of his life differed somewhat from the ordinary, insomuch that it was deemed necessary to keep him from the restraints and ardors of regular school life. At home, however, under the careful tuition of his father, he gained the rudimentary elements of education, so that he was not altogether deficient in learning when, at this age, he entered the Western University of Pennsylvania. Here he remained for three and a half years, at the end of which time his health again demanded a temporary suspension of study. An extended tour throughout the Western states greatly benefitted him, however, and so when he returned he felt capable of beginning what afterwards proved an earnest and exhaustive study of the law. In 1861 he entered the office of David Reed, Esq. Three years later he was admitted to the Allegheny county bar. In a short time his practice became so extensive that he was enabled to decline all criminal cases save those of regular clients, this too in the face of the fact that he had made quite a reputation in this branch of the profession, although it had always been distasteful to him. In 1867 he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in

1869 to the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, and in 1870, on motion of Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the latter body he gained the distinction of being one of the youngest members ever admitted to practice before it. In 1869 he was elected a director for Pennsylvania in the United States Law Association. In 1872 he entered into a law partnership with Hon. Alexander G. Cochran. The firm of Gazzam & Cochran, which was widely known throughout the United States, was continued until 1879, when, owing to the removal of Mr. Cochran to St. Louis, it was dissolved.

During an extremely busy professional career in Pittsburgh, Mr. Gazzam also found time to take a leading part in numerous social organizations, being president of the Pittsburgh Gymnastic Association and an officer and director in many others.

A fondness for the political arena is one of the characteristics undoubtedly inherited by Mr. Gazzam. In early life it naturally induced him to take an active part in the municipal government of his native city. He was frequently called upon to speak at political meetings in several campaigns, and his decisive and practical expressions favoring many needed reforms soon attracted general attention, and in consequence he became (in 1869) the Republican candidate to represent the first ward in city councils. Being elected he was subsequently enabled to carry many ex-

cellent ideas into effect, and to prove himself a capable and patriotic public official.

The next important step in the career of Mr. Gazzam occurred in 1876, when, by acclamation of the nominating convention, he became the Republican candidate for the forty-third Senatorial District and was elected by a large majority. As a member of the Senate he soon ranked as a man of the highest ability and character. Fair-minded, yet tenacious, pacific yet thoroughly equipped for debate, he formed his opinions on public measures with deliberation and candor, and defended them with courage and skill. He was a zealous worker for Republican principles, though utterly devoid of all that savored of "offensive partisanship," and so wise were his councils regarded that at the expiration of his term he had gained an enviable position in his party.

In 1882 he was prominently mentioned throughout the state as a candidate for the Lieutenant Governorship, but this was at a time, however, when private reasons urged Mr. Gazzam to discourage all efforts made in his behalf by a legion of friends, and so his name was not presented at the convention. The following extract from an editorial in an issue of the *Philadelphia News*, published at the time, will convey an idea of the general esteem in which the political life of the ex-Senator is held:

"There are many names being brought forward for the Lieutenant-Governor-

ship of this state. The Press of this city refers as follows to the subject: 'Various journals of the state have presented the name of ex-Senator Joseph M. Gazzam as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket. Mr. Gazzam has made an honorable record in public life. He was the author of the law which prevented a session of the legislature in 1880, thus making a large saving for the state. He is recommended as affable and well versed in parliamentary law and having the qualities to make a strong candidate if nominated.' This complimentary notice is well deserved. Mr. Gazzam stands the peer of any man in the state in purity of character, fullness of culture and clearness of intellect. Having had years of experience in the State Senate, he is fully qualified to perform any service required of the Lieutenant-Governor. And as the term of Governor has been extended to four years, all the uncertainties which attach to a presidential term attaches to it. Therefore, whoever may be selected as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor should be qualified, in the event of need, to act as Governor. This Mr. Gazzam is amply qualified to do. Prudent, cautious, and with good judgment, he would fill the executive chair with ability and success. If the policy this year shall be to make up a ticket so unexceptionable that all Republicans will be glad to support it, no better name can be selected for Lieutenant-Governor. And this is the policy which should obtain.

Locality, this year, should give place to quality in candidates. It is the one thing that is important above all else. And if this policy shall prevail, Mr. Gazzam will be in the front for the Lieutenant-Governorship."

Unfortunately for the Republican party in Pennsylvania, the policy above indicated did not prevail in the convention that followed. A slated ticket was rushed through. This proved so distasteful to the Independent Republicans of the state that they met and put a ticket of their own in the field. The outcome of the affair was, of course, the election of the regular Democratic nominees.

The marriage of Mr. Gazzam occurred in 1878, his bride being Miss Mary Anna, only child of John C. Reading, one of the most prominent and successful business men of Pennsylvania, and a great grandson of Hon. John Reading, a distinguished colonial governor of New Jersey.

Some time after his marriage Mr. Gazzam removed to Philadelphia and opened a law office, but, owing to the many duties devolving upon him through the numerous enterprises he is now connected with, he has been compelled to gradually relinquish much of his practice.

He was one of the projectors (in 1882) of the Beech Creek, Clearfield & Southwestern Railroad (now known as the Beech Creek), which begins at Jersey Shore and has its terminus in the thriving borough of Gazzam. Besides being a director in this company, he is president of the Chautauqua Lake Railroad Company, of the Caledonia Coal Company, and of the Williamsport Gas Company; vice-president of the Bloomington Coal and Coke Company, and of the Dent's Run Coal Company; also a director in the Northumberland Improvement Company, the United Security Life Insurance and Trust Company and the Philadelphia Finance Company, besides holding similar positions in a large number of others.

Despite these great business interests Mr. Gazzam still finds time to devote to literary and other pursuits. He is a life member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; the Fairmount Park Art Association and the Horticultural Society, a governor in the Pennsylvania Club, a member of the Union League, Union Republican Club, the Medical Jurisprudence Society, the Manhattan Athletic Club of New York, and is at present a member-at-large of the Republican State Central Committee.

A. B. MACKENZIE.

THOMAS COCHRAN.

That well-known financier and director of public affairs, Thomas Cochran, of Philadelphia, who has been rendered especially conspicuous by reason of his

achievement in revising the tax system of the city, his splendid executive labors in connection with the organization of the Centennial Exposition, and more

recently by his administration of the affairs of the great financial institution known as the Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company, is a native Pennsylvanian, long resident in the metropolis of the state.

He was born near Mercersburg, Franklin county, April 12, 1832, and is the son of Robert B. and Mary (Allison) Cochran, both of Scotch-Irish descent. His father died when he was little more than an infant and the widowed mother and her little family removed to Harrisburg and later to Philadelphia. In these two places our subject received his schooling and in the latter studied law. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar December 2, 1854, opened an office, and bade fair to attain eminence in his profession, and so, doubtless, he would, had not his tastes and his personal popularity combined to lead him into the more public walks of life. He developed something of an aptitude for politics, and being recognized as an available candidate was placed upon the ticket and elected to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in October, 1861, from what was then the Seventh Legislative District of Philadelphia, and so well was his course in that body approved that he was maintained as a member of it, by successive elections, each time by an increased majority, until 1865. He thus served throughout the momentous period of the civil war when the Assembly contained an unusual number of able members and when its duties were more responsible than ever before or

since. He was the peer of any of his colleagues in practical legislation upon the vital questions of this critical time, and his influence was unflaggingly devoted to securing the utmost measure of state aid for the Union cause and towards the abolition of slavery. He was one of the most active members of the House of Representatives, served upon nearly all of its important committees during his several terms of office, and in the last was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The organization throughout the commonwealth, of schools for the orphans of Union soldiers, was a subject much discussed towards the close of Mr. Cochran's career, and it is fair to say that without his counsel—in the absence of the plan he projected—those admirable institutions would never have existed in the state. Various measures had been introduced in the House looking towards their establishment, but owing to the wide variance of opinion as to the minutiae of their organization, the defeat of the measure was certain. It was then that, in lieu of the complicated and in many respects ultra schedule of provisions, which was objectionable to many, Mr. Cochran presented in the form of a joint resolution, a simple substitute, which however, was thorough enough to be effective in meeting all requirements. This commended itself to the great majority of the legislators, was adopted and became the fundamental law on which the schools were brought into being and maintained.

A revolution in the matter of taxation by which the city of Philadelphia was extricated from a grave peril was brought about largely through Mr. Cochran's instrumentality during the immediate post-war period and after he had ceased to be a member of the Assembly, and in this service to his fellow citizens it is difficult to overestimate the value of his acumen and alert action. The large expenditures entailed by the war and the restricted revenue from taxation, mainly due to inequality and inadequacy of assessment, had brought the city to the verge of financial embarrassment, and as a means of bringing about a more healthful condition a Board of Revision of Taxes was created by act of the Assembly. To this board, invested with powers to assess and adjust the valuation of property and to control the details looking toward an equitable basis of taxation, Mr. Cochran was appointed with two associates by the Court. He was the active spirit of the body, for a long time its chairman, and throughout virtually its leader. Through the labors of this board the entire tax system of the city was remodeled and the valuation of property returned at three times the amount it had formerly stood at. This involved an immense amount of work extending over a number of years, and the duties were such as to demand the full time and undivided attention of the members, and also to include much that was delicate and disagreeable, but there was no shrinking from responsibility, the work being per-

formed, without fear or favor, most thoroughly. The means were heroic, but the city by thus obtaining its fair tax based upon a properly adjusted value was lifted from its financial difficulties. In 1876 when Mr. Cochran resigned from his office, he left to the city a tax system that competent authorities upon economics have pronounced equal if not superior to that of any other municipality in the land. The long continued, thorough work gave him an intimate knowledge of the subject, and the treatises upon "Methods of Valuation" and "Local Taxation" which Mr. Cochran wrote as the results of his experience, have attracted much attention and been generally accorded an authoritative position in that department of social science. They are published as standard papers upon the subject, and are much quoted by investigators of the subject elsewhere.

Another important work in which Mr. Cochran's energies had exercise for the public good was the United States Centennial Exhibition, held at Philadelphia, in 1876. He was one of the organizers and chief directors of this huge undertaking and served actively and unremittingly throughout the whole period of its inception and execution. At the very first meeting held by the stockholders of the Exhibition to begin preparations for the observance of the completion of the nation's first century, he was elected a member of the Board of Finance and being yearly re-elected served in that capacity until the completion of the

work and the dissolution of the board, holding during its existence the position of Vice-President and being also chairman of the Committee on Grounds, Plans and Buildings. During the three years prior to the opening of the gigantic exhibition he gave this business his entire time, being daily at the office and upon the grounds, and directing the work personally. The arrangement and supervision of the grounds, the location of the buildings, the plans for the supply of water, of gas, etc., together with the specifications and contracts for the buildings, were all entrusted to him, and credit for the well-known convenience of arrangement, compactness of grouping, adequacy, tastefulness, and general completeness of the exhibition structures belongs to him. The work was a colossal one, beset with many difficulties, and the time brief, for its performance, yet all was in readiness at the time set for the opening of the exhibition, and the feat performed was certainly highly creditable to the executive ability of the chief manager. Since the death of the well-known John Welsh, Mr. Cochran has held the office of President of the Exposition Board of Finance. It may be remarked here that the general recognition of his effective management of the preparations for the National Centennial Exhibition has led to his frequent selection for somewhat similar work. During the Constitutional Centennial in Philadelphia, in September, 1887, he was chairman of the Citizens' Committee; he was one of the Vice-

Presidents of the American Exhibition in London, the same year, and in the summer of 1888 he was appointed by Gov. Beaver one of the Pennsylvania Commissioners to the Ohio Valley centennial celebration at Cincinnati.

In 1874 Mr. Cochran was appointed, under an act of Congress, one of the commissioners to dispose of the old navy yard at Philadelphia, owned by the government, his associates being Secretary Robeson of the navy, Secretary Bristow of the treasury department, and Gen. G. A. Humphreys, chief engineer of the army, and it was he who attended to all of the details of the business and effected the sale of the property to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for a round million of dollars. He exerted in this transaction only that financial skill which he is very generally known to possess by those who have any knowledge whatever of his character, and which has recommended him to many financiering institutions.

For a dozen years past, however, his energy and executive ability have been mainly devoted to one sterling and strong Philadelphia establishment, the Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company, of which he was elected the president in 1876, beginning his duties at the opening of the following year. Under his judicious management, its stock has been increased several-fold in value, and the surplus of the institution has been raised to a million of dollars.

Besides his responsibility as the head of this large concern, Mr. Cochran has other interests, and is frequently called

upon to aid by his counsel, various projects. In 1877 he was selected by councils as the citizens' representative on the Sinking Fund Commission of Philadelphia, which controls the management of all the city loans. He served on the Executive Committee of the Reorganization Trustees of the Reading Railroad, and was one of the few of that body who, when their labors, covering a period of a year and a half, were concluded, was retained as one of the managers of the rehabilitated company. He is a director of the North Penn Railroad and of the Philadelphia Saving Fund, and member of the executive committee of the Board of Trade; while of the Union League Club, with which he has long officiated politically and socially, he is a director and also treasurer. In short his associations of business and other nature are many and exceedingly varied, and his sphere of action and usefulness a broad one, as

befits his energy and capability. He takes a deep interest in the history of his city and state, and in both he has occupied an honorable position and accomplished much of good. He is honored alike for the worth of his private character and his public services, and regarded as a man of broadly catholic views, strong convictions, and of unswerving integrity of purpose in whatever he undertakes.

Mr. Cochran was married September 7, 1857, to Kate C., daughter of the late Hon. John H. Campbell, a prominent member of the Philadelphia bar, who was a member of Congress during the war of Mexico, and who died January 19, 1868. They have one son, William Allison Cochran, who is financial manager of the stock brokerage house of L. H. Taylor & Co., Philadelphia, and one of the best known of the city's younger class of commercial leaders.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

XV.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF 1840; AND BEYOND.

THE extended review of the American railroad systems as already completed, under process of construction, or merely projected, comprised in the two preceding chapters, has led us somewhat from the main thread of narration; but has certainly been no waste of time or space, as illustrating, as no other course could, the tremendous expansion of hope, and the unlimited investment of

energy, courage and capital, during the decade of which 1840 was the close. Before resuming our general narration with the opening of a decade that was prolific in results, if not so filled with surprises and the inception of new ventures as the one that preceded it, a glance may be taken at several incidents and features of railroad history that ought not to be altogether omitted.

Among these may be noted the argument of one ingenious writer* who was determined that not only roads for locomotive-power but for man power should be constructed. "Railroads will make," he earnestly declares, "in some parts of the world as great a change in the existing state of society, as good common roads have helped to make in past centuries. They will make intercourse so easy with places two thousand miles distant, that the people of the two places will have literary, religious, social and commercial connections with each other, too close and valuable to allow of being interrupted by war, without extreme necessity.

"But not only," he continues, "may railroads be viewed as important, by binding together in friendship different countries, or remote sections of the same country; the system may be applied to the accommodation of the people scattered over the whole surface of our soil in the whole business of social life. When it is considered that as easily as a man can wheel on a common road, by his own labor, a single bushel of corn, he could move on a railroad, with the same rapidity, a load of more than twelve hundred pounds, it will appear probable that rail-paths for short distances, to main railroads, will be formed for the use of men. This will be further apparent from the fact that the same power which a man exerts in going up stairs, twenty feet high,

would propel him forward on a level rail-path nearly a mile; and if his carriage in which he moved himself weighed five hundred pounds, the additional power necessary to move this, would be only that exerted by a man in raising two pounds, twenty feet high, or as easily as a man can ascend a stairs twenty feet, carrying with him two pounds weight, he could propel himself in a car weighing five hundred pounds very nearly a mile. There would be a greater amount of business done over the country but for the distance of three, five, eight and ten miles, at which people are from the places where they might do their business."

After a serious description of how these foot railroads must be built, the writer concludes as follows: "They must be free, and therefore be made by public corporations, towns, cities, counties or states. If these do not choose to make them, private corporations will make them for the revenue which they will see a fair prospect of deriving from them. When they have thus succeeded in the most promising routes, other routes will be commenced, and the system will extend. Such a system, if successful, or if only partially practicable, would greatly augment the business and revenue of the main railroads. They would be to these roads like the rills and brooks and smaller rivers to a noble flood that still swells as it receives one tributary after another, and pours its full tide into the ocean, by some great city. This, though it may be rich and powerful and proud, owes all its

*"Publicola," in the American Railroad Journal, February 6, 1836, p. 66.

commerce to the labors of farmers and mechanics, scattered widely, whose productions collected in small, and then in larger and larger quantities, till they swell to the mass of goods that fill a great centre of trade."

The Bolton, England, *Chronicle*, in 1836, relates the following, under the heading "Railway Phenomenon"—which is reproduced as showing how each small event in connection with the new lines of travel, was dwelt upon as something new and strange: "On Monday last a gentleman of this town, who had taken his place in the hindmost carriage of one of the railway trains from Bolton to Kenyon, witnessed the following singular occurrence. He was placed with his back to the engine and had a clear view of the preceding line of railway. The train was going down the inclined plane from Baglane to Leigh, at the apparent rate of from thirty to forty miles per hour. A man who was standing on the side of the railway threw a stone about the size of a hen's egg in a horizontal direction, and with considerable violence, at the train. The stone was distinctly seen by the gentleman in its progress to the carriage in which he was seated, and having obtained its maximum of velocity, it appeared, like Mahomet's coffin, to be suspended in the air for a few seconds, within a foot of the gentleman's head. He seized hold of it, and he describes the sensation which he felt in doing so as somewhat similar to that which would be felt in grasping a stone in a state of rest, suspended by a thread."

THE WAR ARGUMENT AGAIN.

The arguments given in an earlier chapter in favor of railroads as means of defense in case of war, were supplemented by an extended discussion in the *Boston Journal* in the spring of 1838, seeking to prove that the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, with its various branches, would, in case of war, "enable us to concentrate, as if by enchantment, the whole force of the state, and of the neighboring states, and even the force of distant states, upon any part of the territory of Massachusetts. In connection with a steam battery playing inside of Cape Cod, and another steam battery in Narragansett Bay, the waters of Massachusetts and the lands of Massachusetts will then present the defeat of an enemy as the inevitable result of any attack. This will be so clear to the eye of any military or naval commander as to amount to an absolute order by such a commander, to himself, not to attack a people thus made impregnable by the mighty power of steam to the mighty power of the mind.

"In time of profound peace it is the part of wisdom to place the state in readiness to disarm war of its power of mischief. It is never worth while to lull ourselves into a false security, more especially while the sceptre of the most formidable naval power is held by a woman, who, in the freaks of love may bestow her affections upon some ambitious Cæsar, or on some mischievous man or irresponsible favorite. History is full of warnings to this purpose, and we have, moreover, on our very frontiers

both in Texas and the Canadas, a magazine of powder to which the indiscretion of our own citizens may yet apply the match at any moment."

The editor then appeals to the financial side of the American mind as he had already to the patriotic. "During the war of 1812," he continues, "cotton was six cents per pound in New Orleans, and forty cents in Massachusetts. Louisiana sugar was worth three cents in New Orleans and thirty cents in Boston. Flour, then, worth \$2 a barrel in the Western country did sell for \$16 in Massachusetts. Make the Western railroad, and one and two cents per pound for the expense of transportation will give you the command of all the products of the West and of the Southwest, and the enjoyment of them just as much in time of war as if it were a time of profound peace, and the 70,000,000 annual amount of the manufactures of this state will find in the great West even a better market than in time of uninterrupted peace; and our bay fisheries will still enable us (although we may be at war) to supply upwards of 6,000,000 of people with fresh and salted and pickled fish to the amount of many millions of dollars. During the war of 1812 our whole seacoast was held in continual terror. Adopt the present plan, and the security of Massachusetts will be complete, without any cost of blood or treasury."

GROWTH IN PASSAGE.

There is food for thought in the Irish Railway Report in December, 1838: "On the Stockton and Darlington

line the passenger traffic, prior to the establishment of the railway, amounted to only 4,000 persons in the year; it now exceeds 16,000. On the Bolton line the average weekly number of passengers is 2,500, whereas the number of coach journeys, out and in per week, which the railway has superseded, amounted only to 28, carrying perhaps on a weekly average about 280 or 300 persons. On the Newcastle and Carlisle road, prior to the railway, the number of persons the public coaches were licensed to carry in a week was 348, or both ways 696; now the average daily numbers of passengers by the railway for the whole length, 56½ miles, is 288 or 1,596 in the week. The number of passengers on the Dundee and New-lyle line exceeds at this time 50,000 annually; the estimated number of persons who performed the same journey previous to the opening of the railway between Liverpool and Manchester, were about 400 passengers per day, or 146,000 a year, travelling between those places by coaches; whereas the present number, by railway alone, exceeds 500,000. In foreign countries the results arising from the same causes are equally striking. The number of persons who usually passed by the road between Brussels and Antwerp was 75,000 in the year; but since the railroad has been opened from the former place to Malines it has increased to 500,000; and since it was carried all through to Antwerp the number has exceeded a million. The opening branch from Malines to Termonde ap-

pears to have added 200,000 to the latter number, so that the passenger traffic of that railroad superseding a road traffic of only 75,000 persons, now amounts to 1,200,000. It is remarkable that on this, as on most other railroads, the greater number of passengers are those who travel short distances being as two to one compared with those who go the whole distance. This appears from a statement read by Mr. Loch before the Statistical Society of Manchester, showing that between April 30 and August 15, 1836, 122,417 persons travelled the whole distance, and 244,834 short distances, chiefly to and from Malines. He further states that nearly one-third of the whole revenue is derived to and from Malines, and paying a fare of about 54 centimes or 6d. sterling. On the same authority we learn another fact, most deserving of attention in calculating the probable success of a railroad in such a country as Ireland, viz., that nearly three-fifths of the whole revenue of the company are derived from passengers of the lower class, paying a very low fare."

Another indication of a similar character is found in the *Baltimore Chronicle*, of August, 1839: "The almost universal introduction of railroads has caused an immense increase in the consumption of iron. In Scotland there are now fifty-five furnaces, seven building and twenty-seven projected. In South Wales there are one hundred and twenty-nine furnaces, thirty building and nine are contemplated. In 1740 the annual produce of iron in the United Kingdom

was but 17,450 tons; within five years the annual produce of Scotland and South Wales will, it is computed, exceed 1,400,000 tons. The ratio of increase in the manufacture of iron in this country is supposed to exceed even this."

NEW YORK'S EARLY ATTITUDE.

It is not too late to glance at the early steps taken in New York and Massachusetts for the encouragement of railroads, the more especially as so much has been already furnished as to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other states to the south. A report of exceeding interest as illustrating the course of New York was made to the state legislature in the early part of 1832,* by a committee to whom had been referred such portion of the Governor's message as related to railroads. The opening sentences indicate the excitement that then prevailed all through the country, and the enthusiasm with which the people were prepared to take hold of any railroad project that was opened before them: "Perhaps no subject since the foundation of this government, has engrossed the public mind to so great an extent as the one under consideration; and as a necessary consequence, the halls of the legislature are crowded with applicants, seeking permission from the sovereignty of the state, for liberty to reach the rich and honorable reward which their imaginations may picture as the consequence of success. Excitements of the character which at

*For this report in full, See *Railroad Journal*, February 18, 1832, pp. 114-117.

present pervade the public mind, must arise from one or two causes. Either from a settled condition that the object to be obtained will be a source of profit to the stockholders and of the public, or from a desire to throw before the public the means by which speculation may be promoted, and the few enrich themselves at the expense of the many—to promote the former is the province of the legislature, to discourage the latter is their duty."

The committee follow with a carefully prepared and exhaustive review of the railroad history up to that date, and weigh all the questions that must of necessity influence their opinions. All their conclusions and recommendations were of the most guarded character. "The committee," they explained, "do not wish to be understood as having formed a definite opinion on the eventual success of railroads, to the extent that is imagined by many who are, or wish to be, engaged in constructing them. They are aware, from frequent experience, how easily new schemes and discoveries are apt to mislead the imagination, either from their novelty or some other cause. Before they would recommend a general system, founded on the principle advocated by friends of railroad transportation, their duty and inclination demand of them to advise necessary, to acquire the most full and satisfactory information relating thereto; and that such enterprise as may be deemed to encourage be prosecuted with great caution, lest the good which might eventually be pro-

duced be nipped in the bud, and the fruit which should be the reward of the enterprising laborer, be the harvest of the subsequent holder of the stock."

"On looking over the map of this state," the committee add at a later point in their report, "your committee have been forcibly impressed with the importance of opening to the southern tier of counties, an easy and ready communication with the Hudson. It will be perceived, that no less than three considerable rivers, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Alleghany, take their rise within our borders, and present a natural, if not a convenient channel for the products of more than one-fourth of the state. Through the means of this communication with the towns of other states, a valuable and important trade is kept up, notwithstanding the imminent hazards they have to encounter. Nor is this all—by opening a communication direct and easy with the border counties, we shall draw from the state of Pennsylvania all the trade which now can only seek a market at the mouth of her rivers, when the streams are swollen by the floods of the spring and fall. And even beyond this, we can scarcely restrain ourselves from anticipating. Many men of science and experience have not only considered this route practicable to the head waters of the Alleghany, but have predicted, that the time is not distant when a communication would be opened through this section with the great west."

The main recommendations of the

committee, lay in the following clause: "The course which presents itself forcibly to your committee as best suited to the interest of this great state, and which will yield the greatest amount of good, is granting charters to companies to construct improvements, placing restrictions, and reserving rights and emoluments in some and giving liberal pecuniary aid in others. In other words, we would recommend that the state become a stockholder in all leading routes, not so much for the gain which may be made to the revenue, as for the equalization of benefits. The revenue obtained from a successful and profitable enterprise, can thus be paid over to one more doubtful and discouraging, and while the state, will thus be distributing justice to every section, opening avenues and developing resources of sequestered regions which otherwise would never experience the benefits of an easy access to market, and which will never, from any other source, or in any other way, feel the effect of the beneficent policy of the state; it will also open a more sure and extended field of equalized revenue, operate as a corrective principle, on the various companies thus to be chartered, and by having a voice, and a representation in every measure, protect the public interests and privileges against injury or abuse."

THE MOVEMENTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

As has been already shown, Massachusetts had the honor of possessing the first railroad ever built or operated in America, in the shape of the old

Quincy, about which not a little has been herein said. The state as such took early steps toward railroad development, and it seems proper at this point to pay some attention thereto. At the session of the state legislature in 1826 the petitions of Thomas H. Perkins, A. J. Allen and others, were presented, asking for surveys for a railway from Boston to the Hudson river, and in response thereto the committee on roads and canals was "instructed to inquire whether any practicable and useful improvements have been made in the constructions of railways and steam carriages used thereon, so as to admit of their being successfully introduced into this commonwealth; and if so, whether it is expedient to extend thereto the aid and encouragement of this legislature."

In pursuance thereof, the committee reported a resolution authorizing the Governor to appoint three commissioners and an engineer, on the subject of railways. The resolution passed the Senate, but was indefinitely postponed in the House. At the opening of the June session, in the same year, Gov. Lincoln, in referring to works for promoting inter-communications between remote points and the state capital, declared that "it seems to be misunderstood by some, that a precise and *exclusive* character of improvement is contemplated; but that nothing was further from the intention of the executive. . . Canals and railroads have each their respective advocates, and the election, in most cases, must be decided entirely by a regard to the surface of the

earth, over which their construction is proposed. . . . The more extended and beneficial influences of canals in the general improvement of the country, seem to me too important and decisive to be lightly regarded. A railroad is a mere passage way for travel and transportation. It has no other connection, or dependence, than upon inter-communication. All the favorable differences in its favor, may be counterbalanced, by the greater convenience of passing on canals, and the superior adaptation of boats to cars, for the accommodation of the infinite variety in weight and bulk." He makes haste to add that he does not wish to be understood as intending any discouragement to the construction of railways wherever situation and character of business warrant their adoption.

A select committee was appointed by the House at the same session "to consider the practicability and expediency of constructing a railway from Boston, on the most eligible route, to the western line of the county of Berkshire, in order that if leave can be obtained from the government of New York, it may be extended to the Hudson river, at or near Albany; and that the committee be instructed to report information and estimates of expense as they deem proper." "This," declares one authority, * "is believed to be the first concerted movement having in view the construction of a railroad through the

state. Little was known of the construction or usefulness of that mode of inter-communication, and all the inquiries and calculations were directed to the use of *horse power* only."†

Circulars were at once sent throughout the state, requesting information of any kind that would throw light upon the great subject in hand. A report was made in January, 1827. It is an intelligent and interesting document, whether perused then or now, showing clearly some of the views in which the railroad was then held. Speaking of the uneven features of the country to be passed, the report declared that "the numerous railways for several years in successful operation in the hilly and mountainous districts in Wales, prove their fitness to an uneven and undulating country." "Several modes of constructing single and double railways, in a rude and imperfect form, are given, with provision for a horse path, and paths for attendants on each side of the

† In a note on page 147, of the work above referred to, Mr. Bliss furnishes the following interesting anecdote: "Early in July, 1826, and a few days after the appointment of Dr. Philips' committee, some members of the legislature attended the funeral of President John Adams at Quincy, and there visited the Quincy railway. Mr. Webster being of the party Dr. Philips had some conversation with him on the subject of the *new proposition*, then much ridiculed. Mr. Webster, after making some inquiries, said, 'Well, it certainly is a subject for very grave consideration, whether roads for general travel cannot be made as you propose.' This remark, as Dr. Philips says, in a recent letter, gave him great encouragement and satisfaction."

* 'Historical Memoir of the Western Railroad.' By George Bliss, Springfield, Mass., 1863, page 7.

road. After giving the power of a horse to draw eight tons on a grade of eighty-eight feet per mile, they add that 'the locomotive engine, which operates by steam, is used upon railways to a great advantage. But in England, its powers are confined to an elevation not exceeding twenty-seven and one-half feet to the mile. An engine of two eight-inch cylinders, weighing about five tons, will move forty tons at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and is said to have moved ninety tons at forty miles an hour.'"

It was clearly the opinion of the committee, that a railroad was practicable from Boston to the Hudson river, at or near Albany, although they declined to designate any special route as the most eligible. They add, however, that a survey has been made upon one route at least from Connecticut river to the Hudson, by an intelligent and enterprising citizen of Berkshire (Theodore Sedgwick), and by him a railway has been pronounced not only practicable but highly expedient. They also add that a railroad would be far more useful to the public than a canal.

As a result of all this preparation, three commissioners were appointed on February 22, 1827, to constitute a board of internal improvements, for the examination of routes for canals and railroads, and prepare proper surveys and estimates. On March 2 they were instructed to survey a route for a railway from Boston to the Rhode Island line, etc. With the exception of a re-

port on the subject of a canal from Warren (then Western) to the Connecticut state line, nothing came of the appointment of this committee. In the June session of the same year two commissioners and an engineer were chosen to prepare the necessary survey, plans, and estimates for a railway on the best practicable route from Boston to the line of New York, and thence, if the consent of New York should be obtained, to the Hudson river at or near Albany. Ten thousand dollars were appropriated for this work. Nahum Mitchell, of Boston, and Samuel M. McKay, of Pittsfield, were appointed commissioners, and James F. Baldwin as engineer. Explorations were immediately commenced and finished along two routes—the southern, through Framingham, Springfield, etc., to the state line at Canaan, and thence through Chatham and Kinderhook to the Hudson, at Albany; and the northern via Troy, Hoosac, etc., to the Connecticut river at Northampton, and thence by Belchertown, Rutland, Watertown, etc., to Boston. Extended surveys were made along the southern route. In their report of these operations to the legislature, the commissioners declared that their explorations and surveys had been conducted solely with reference to the use of animal power as "better adapted to the transportation of that endless variety of loading which a dense and industrious population requires." They also added a series of computations which led them to the conclusion that the ordinary measure of horse

power was eight to ten tons for one horse, and this was preferable to locomotive power by steam. The commissioners urge the construction of a road between the two great points enumerated, and in proof of the value of such investment present a variety of statistics of business, adding that the trade of the five western counties of their state had been transferred to New York, and that the road would form a direct communication with the extensive internal improvements of the state of New York.

These recommendations and facts were committed to the legislative committee on roads and railways, who, on February 15, 1828, declared that "after mature examinations of the facts and statements contained in said report," they had come to the conclusion "that the railroad, as applicable to Massachusetts, and to New England generally, has, since the making of said report, assumed a new and greater importance; that it will prove a new creation of wealth, power, and prosperity to the state. . . . That a railroad can be constructed at far less expense than a canal, and be productive of still greater advantages."

The state moved forward rapidly, in the new road of progress, and under provisions of a law passed on March 11, 1828, nine persons were chosen members of a board of directors of internal improvements, whose duties were to oversee surveys, select routes, etc., in connection with the measures in contemplation.

The month following, the active co-

operation of New York was made secure, by the passage by the legislature of that state, of an act "to facilitate the construction of a railroad from the city of Boston to the Hudson river," and pledging that "if the state of Massachusetts shall construct a railroad from Boston to the boundary of this state, either directly, or through the medium of an incorporated company, the legislature of this state will construct it from thence to the Hudson river, or grant to the state of Massachusetts, or some authorized company the right of so doing, and taking tolls thereon, under proper restrictions as to jurisdiction."

The year 1828 was a busy one on part of the commissioners of both states, public attention being directed with new interest to the great question that in that period was so profoundly agitating America. The reports of these commissioners were made to the respective legislatures early in 1829. That of New York* stated that the routes had been minutely surveyed—one from Troy through Pownal to Adams, and one from Albany and Hudson to West Stockbridge—the lines from Albany and Hudson to unite at Chatham. That of Massachusetts premised its discussions with the declaration the first object was to select "a route from Boston to the Hudson river, which would, at the least cost, afford the shortest and easiest communication between the extreme points, and also the greatest accommodation to the inhabitants of

* *Journal of the Senate of New York*, 52nd session, page 235.

the intermediate country." To this end, an examination was made of all the routes which appeared to secure these objects, and three were chosen for the test of actual surveys. The routes, and their respective merits were discussed, but the statements or arguments of the commissioners are not necessary here. It was their opinion that when the road was constructed there should be a double railway, with a flat iron rail, laid upon a longitudinal rail of granite, the rails of each track to be five feet apart, with the space between them graded for a horse path, the elevation in no case to exceed eighty feet per mile. In most cases only one horse would be needed, with two upon the higher grades; while an alternative suggestion for these higher grades was the introduction of stationery machinery on inclined planes, rising at an angle of five or six degrees, and operated by water or horse power. With horses they believed that the journey might be easily accomplished in four days. "The board estimate," declares one synopsis of this report, "the cost per ton of heavy articles, paying the lowest rate of freight, at \$1.97, exclusive of toll to be paid for the use of the road. As to the toll to be paid, they say, the rates by water between Boston and Albany, were from three to four dollars per ton, which would be per barrel of flour, adding insurance, twenty-eight to thirty cents—adding one dollar per ton for tolls to the \$1.97 gives \$2.97 per ton, or equal to twenty-six to thirty per barrel of flour,—that other articles,

more costly, would pay higher freight and tolls by railroads. Articles to or from intermediate places could bear a much higher rate of toll, 'because the accommodation is greater.' That 'the transportation from Springfield to Boston by water, is greater than from Albany to Boston; and all articles from Connecticut river to Boston may pay double the toll above mentioned, by rail, and the cost would be less than the lowest rate by water.' These estimates are for a road without stationary power. The whole plan is upon the presumption that the proprietors of the road, whether the state or a company, provide only the facilities *for its use by carriers of private associations, who were to pay tolls therefor.*" Touching the carrying of passengers, the board declare that "an active horse may travel twelve or thirteen miles a day, at nine miles an hour, including stops, and draw a weight of two and a half tons; or a carriage with twenty passengers with their baggage, at a cost, for twenty-two horses, two men and one carriage, at \$21, for twenty passengers,—each \$1.05, add \$2 for tolls,—making \$3.05 from Boston to Albany in twenty-two hours."

The strong recommendations of the report, backed as they were by endorsement of the executive, failed of their effect in the manner contemplated, as the state law-makers took no steps to carry the idea into effect as a public enterprise. Because of this apathy on part of the legislature, private capital was interested, and in 1830 and 1831 petitions were presented from various

quarters, in response to which the charters were granted for the incorporation of the various companies by which the first general railroads of the state were projected and built. The enumeration of the roads constructed or projected prior to the year 1840, has been already given, in the review that was concluded in the preceding chapter.

THE FAMOUS STILT RAILROAD.

In a preceding chapter some account was given of the famous pioneer line upon stilts,—the Ohio Railroad Company's structure that was partially constructed between Cleveland, Ohio, and Toledo, in the same state; commenced in 1836 and finally abandoned in 1843. A more detailed description of that unique endeavor has been furnished * by the engineer in charge, John H. Sargent, which possesses an especial value from its minuteness of description, and the opportunity allowed Mr. Sargent to personally know whereof he affirms. "The subscribers to this company," we are first told, "transferred their farms, town lots and other property (money they had none) to the company in payment of stock. Upon this property money was raised and work in earnest was begun. Finally estimates were fixed up so that the company drew some \$250,000 in state bonds. The company had banking privileges, and Ohio Railroad bills were as plenty as Canada soldiers

in June. Then went up the cry of 'plunder,' and the legislature repealed the law, and up went the company, the engineers were paid off in old pile drivers, and the road slept the sleep of the just for ten years. The wise ones said this was to be expected, for it was 'an insult to Almighty to build a railroad along Lake Erie.'

"I will give a brief description of the mode of construction in those primitive days: The road was laid through a very wooden country. West of Sandusky some fifty miles was through an almost unbroken forest plain of heavy timber. Timber was of little worth, so the grade was made of timber, that is, the road was built upon piles, even through the few shallow cuttings. The gauge was six feet and the piles were driven five feet apart longitudinally. The drivers were double, with two hammers and two pairs of leader. The rails were fastened to the bottom of the sills to run on iron rollers placed on top of the piles. A circular saw was hung on a sway bar between the leaders at grade. The piles were delivered along the line on either hand with the butts towards the machine. By means of friction winches and long ropes passing over the head of the leaders they were snatched up and brought to their places with great promptness and precision. When the piles were driven the saw was brought to grade in this wise: The engineers had provided a set of two grade pegs every fifty feet. On two sets of these were placed straight-edges, with another on

* In 'Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies,' New York, September 1887, page 355.

the saw. By means of screws the sway bar was raised or lowered to bring the top of these straight-edges into the same plane. Then the saw was set in motion and swung right and left, cutting off the piles to grade. The wheels or rollers were placed upon them; a drag rope on each side was hooked to the pile and carried through a sheave at the rear and brought forward to the winch.

"The engineers had also provided centre stakes ahead and a vertical line in the head of the machine. By means of the two drag ropes, the great machine was easily kept to line. Next followed the tie fitters. The ties, generally of white oak, were made in sectors, split from trees some two feet in diameter and must have a dressed face on the bark side of eight inches; this tie was fitted to the top of the pile, its centre being brought to line. The engineer then pricked off the grade on every fourth tie so as to leave about four inches neck above the top of the pile; wedge shaped gains were then sawed to receive the wooden rails, about nine inches wide. These gains were nicely adzed out to grade with the help of sixteen foot straight edges; next a two-inch auger hole was bored through the tie and twelve inches into the pile; then four inches of salt was poured into the hole and a red cedar pin was driven hard upon it. Perhaps the reason why these piles, many of them, after forty years' exposure, are still standing, is that this salt has not wholly lost its savor. The piles had to be not less than ten inches in diameter at the

small end. Some of them were split piles, four being made from one cut; this was permitted only where the grade was low. And now the saw-mill gets in its work. These mills were models of simplicity and efficiency. The cylinder was inverted over the saw with the piston attached direct to the muley saw. The rails were eight by nine, and I have known as many as twenty of these rails to be made from one cut. These were sized and keyed into the gains, the nine inches vertical. The saw logs were gathered in at convenient points along the track; always enough to make rails sufficient to reach to the next station ahead. The mill being on wheels was then hauled forward to the next station by oxen. I fear I shall weary you by these particulars, but it is a picture of the past that may never be seen again. The design was to place maple ribbons on tops of these rails, upon which iron bars, seven-eighths inch thick, were to be spiked, and to fill in with earth before this superstructure decayed; this was afterward done on the Sandusky & Mansfield, now Baltimore & Ohio, Lake Division.

"I cannot leave the description of the Ohio Railroad without some reference to its Chief Engineer, Cyrus Williams. If not a self-made man, he was a ready-made man. The first I knew of him he was a barn builder in central New York. While at this calling he stuck an adze into his knee; when the wound healed, he found himself a cripple, for he could not straighten his leg. All undaunted he bought a kit of

shoemaker's tools and went to pegging his way through the world. A remnant of the Seneca Indians lived in the neighborhood, and one of them seeing Mr. Williams' condition asked the cause; when he learned it he nodded his head and said, 'Me cure him, me cure him.' The next time he came to town, he brought a bottle of Seneca oil, the modern petroleum, and sure enough a faithful and persistent application of this finally set Mr. Williams on his pins again. From the building of barns he progressed to the building of houses, hotels, court-houses and finally bridges. As the Ohio Railroad from end to end was one continuous pile bridge, Mr. Williams was well fitted to be its chief. As I said he was a ready-made man; but he knew very little about mathematics; so he secured an assistant that did know something about mathematics, but very little else, and the construction went on with vigor as long as there was shot in the locker. Yes, even longer. Farewell my first love, the Ohio Railroad, you were born a little too soon."

THE YEAR 1840 AND BEYOND.

With the year 1840 as our new starting point, and passing along with the advance and development of the American railroad, many stray points of information and interest may be gleaned; the more especially from a still wondering and yet vigilant newspaper press. The compact between the government and the railroad to make of the latter a sure highway for the transmission of the mails, had not been cemented yet with a cordial under-

standing upon both sides, as we find a correspondent of the *Patriot* under date of Washington, February 28, declaring that negotiations are yet at an uncertain stage: "I learn from a correct source that the committee from the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad company, had a meeting to-day with the Postmaster-General, and that they have agreed upon all points as to a restoration of the mail upon their road, except one, of seeming trifling importance to the company. It is this: the department claims the right of changing the schedule as to the time of departure, which is resolutely objected to by the company. This is regarded as absolutely necessary so that a complete connection may be preserved in the great mail route; they were told the Postmaster-General had no intention, nor did he think it probable, that any alterations would be made. Upon this point however, the committee make issue, and refused to contract to carry the mail. I still hope they will yield the point and come into the measure; or, if this is not done, that all further negotiations may be brought at once to an end, that the public and all parties concerned may know what to do, and act accordingly."

The second annual report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, for the year ending December 31, 1839, shows a healthful growth and a promise of prosperity for the future. The total receipts of the road for the year amounted to \$490,635.55; exceeding the total of the preceding year by

\$118,720.61. A dividend on the capital stock was declared in July 1839, and another of three and one-half per cent. on the six months business, was paid on February 1, 1840. The annual report of the Mohawk & Hudson for 1839, shows a net profit of \$64,917.06—being near six and one-half per cent. on the capital. The following, as computed in March of this year,* is pertinent in this connection: "By official returns we perceive that the five principal railroads in Massachusetts, to wit: the Boston & Providence, the Boston & Lowell, the Boston & Worcester, the Eastern, and the Taunton; with the Camden & Amboy, in New Jersey; and the Philadelphia & Baltimore, have cost in the aggregate, \$12,281,225. The amount received for freight and passengers during the year 1839, has been \$2,146,468. After deducting every expense, they have netted to their stockholders near nine per cent., or \$1,085,528. The receipts and expenses of the Utica & Syracuse, and Utica & Schenectady railroads for the last year, are not yet published. We understand the last roads will show a nett income of fourteen per cent., and that the Syracuse railroad, put in operation last July, and for the first four months received at the rate of \$840 per day, will exceed this rate of income."

The railroad managers had come to understand by this time something of the advantages of through trains, as opposed to the changing of cars and transfers of

freight at various intermediate points between the place of shipment and delivery; and in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in March we find this statement of the remarkable feat of sending an unbroken train over three roads and return, under as many diverse managements:

"A train of seventeen cars left the warehouse of Messrs. Craig, Bellas & Co. on Wednesday last. Was taken from the head of the inclined plane by one of the state engines on Thursday morning, reached Carlisle on Friday; was loaded with 456 barrels of flour at the warehouse of Mr. Henry Rhoads, and started on Saturday morning to return to Philadelphia. This train arrived in safety at the warehouse in this city on Monday evening the 24th, the same undivided line that had set out the preceding Wednesday, and occupying but four working days in the whole trip. This is, indeed, gratifying intelligence, and will be read with feelings of pleasure by our business community."

The mechanical genius and industry of the country were still at work, making improvements upon old methods, or propounding theories only to see them rejected. "On Saturday last," says the Reading *Democratic Press*, in the same month of the same year, "we had the pleasure, in company with several scientific gentlemen of this place, of witnessing a new and improved locomotive engine in full operation. The advantages derived from the improvement on this engine are no doubt very important, and we have no hesitancy

*: Niles' National Register, March 14, 1840, p. 32.

in predicting, that when once fully and practically developed, will be generally adopted, not only to stationary but to locomotive engines on our public roads. One essential improvement in the construction of this engine is the saving of steam, which requires but one half the quantity and maintains the same power as that of an ordinary engine. We were particularly delighted with the neat and elegant finish of the engine, and certainly it does much credit to the mechanical genius of the projector and builder, Col. Henry High, of this borough. We understand that a patent right has been received, and that a thorough trial of its advantages will shortly be made on the Columbia railroad."

And there were those who were yet looking for a better motive power than steam. The Newark (New Jersey) *Advertiser*, in March, 1840, has an extended account of the wonders that Levi Bissell, a then well-known inventor, hoped to perform with a new compressed air engine, for propelling railroad cars, vessels, and for other mechanical purposes. The engine which had been already constructed for "the purpose of testing the practicability of a principle," was "about the size of a five-horse steam engine which it resembles externally, though its power is alleged to be much greater." A cylindrical iron chamber of the capacity of ten gallons was attached to the engine, and filled with condensed air by a condensing pump. The air was conducted from this vessel to the working

cylinder by a tube. "Though the machinery," the editor adds, "which is apparently very simple, is not yet entirely complete, it was put in operation twice while we were present, and certainly worked with great energy until the power was exhausted."

That he might make his invention of practical use in railway operations and supplant steam, Mr. Bissell proposed to construct suitable pumps at convenient distances on the line of travel, with reservoirs capable of sustaining air condensed to two thousand pounds pressure to the square inch, from which the locomotive air chambers were to be supplied. It was also said that the condensing apparatus might be constructed so as to be portable, and thus accompany the engine as a tender. Among the advantages which the inventor claimed for his machine, one lay in the cost of machinery, which would be much less and more durable, and far less exposed to derangement and accidents. Mr. Bissell was then in hopes that he would not only soon have a chance to demonstrate the superiority of air over steam, but that his system would soon supplant the one then being adopted the world over.

In March an important case bearing upon the mechanical uses of the railroad was concluded, when the United States Supreme Court confirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court, in favor of James Stimson's improvement in making short curves or turns in railroads. "A judicial decision," remarks the United States *Gazette* in comment-

ing upon the fact, "was perhaps necessary to confirm the originality and authorship of the invention, and that has been obtained from the highest tribunal of the country. Mr. Stimpson will, it is hoped, now enjoy without interruption the fruits of his ingenuity."

Another inventor who proposed to forever do away with the whole army of switchmen is found in the person of "a Mr. La Rue, of Pennsylvania," who hoped to "render unnecessary the services of the numerous individuals who, under the present system, are employed

in turning and adjusting the switches for the passage of the cars. The principle of this new contrivance embraces a lever on the road, which is operated upon by a stationary power attached to the locomotive. No manual labor is necessary, and whatever point or position the switch may be on, on the arrival of the cars, it is by this contrivance removed to the proper position and without the slightest difficulty or delay." It is needless to say that Mr. La Rue's genius failed of its expected reward.

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

W. B. DINSMORE.

W. B. Dinsmore, who was one of the active creators of that great system of transportation known as the railway express, and who for more than thirty years was the executive head of the Adams Express Company, must certainly be ranked among those who have made the American railroad the great factor in modern civilization it has become. His way to success was won by his own efforts, and an intelligent and industrious application of the unusual natural powers with which he was endowed. He was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on July 24, 1810. At eleven years of age he was set to the solution of life's problem in his own way, his father placing him in the employ of a farmer at Antrim, New Hampshire. It did not take him long to discover that

the drudgery of the farm—as farming was conducted in those days—was not suited to his tastes; and he accordingly made his way back to Boston, where he spent some years in the employ of a saddlery establishment. During these years he was a member of the old volunteer fire department, and was well known in connection with the other outdoor recreations of the day. A business trip to the South, and an engagement as bookkeeper for a New York house, filled out the time previous to his connection with the great occupation of his life.

In 1840 Alvin Adams started a hand-bag express, in opposition to Harden's concern, which at that time enjoyed a monopoly of the business. He ran between New York and Boston, carrying

parcels by the Norwich boats, and railroad. Mr. Adams met young Dinsmore in Boston, and believing that he was well fitted for the work desired, engaged him in 1841 to go to New York and act as clerk in his office, which was then in a basement on William street, near Wall. Although Mr. Dinsmore could have made more money for the time in a different occupation, he foresaw that the express business had a great future, and wisely sacrificed the immediate advantage for the more fruitful one of the future. At that time the express business consisted principally in carrying letters and small parcels, the messengers being occasionally entrusted with money by the brokers of New York and Boston. It was at this period that Mr. Dinsmore made the acquaintance of John Hoey, and employed him; and thus commenced a business and close social relation that remained unbroken for nearly half a century.

The business which Messrs. Adams and Dinsmore were thus slowly but surely establishing, was confined to New York, New London, Norwich, Worcester and Boston. But extensions came as rapidly as the situation would allow. In 1842 an office was opened in Philadelphia, with E. S. Sanford as agent; this expansion being in direct obedience to Mr. Dinsmore's advice and policy, as he had now become a partner with Mr. Adams in the business. The next onward move was to Baltimore, where S. M. Shoemaker was placed in charge. Mr. Dinsmore soon after moved the headquarters up to Wall street; and two

years later took a long and novel step forward, by the introduction of horses and wagons, as a means of local collection and delivery. All this advance had not been made without great opposition and severe labor; and much of the success, it may be said in passing, was due to the labors of the drivers, who, under Mr. Dinsmore's encouragement, and in recognition of his kindness and thoughtfulness as an employer, made it their business to "drum up trade," and seek custom wherever it could be found. The chief opposition came from Harden & Co., which was then a rich and powerful organization, and it required all Mr. Dinsmore's energy and pluck to keep his company to the front and make headway toward the goal of success. But prosperity was assured, and in 1852 the business had grown to such proportions that the firm purchased the building at 59 Broadway, where the headquarters yet remain.

Two years later came the consolidation that made the Adams Express Company one of the great and powerful organizations of the land. The various lines of which Messrs. Adams and Dinsmore were in control—their Eastern, Southern and Western departments, the Harden Express, Kinsley & Co., and Hoey & Co.'s Charleston Express, were united in one, under the name of the Adams Express Company, with Mr. Adams as president. The history of that successful movement is well known, and the most beneficial results followed. Upon Mr. Adams' retirement from the office of president, Mr. Dins-

more became his successor, and was the active head of the organization for over thirty years until his death. Up to within a few months of his death he gave daily attention to the affairs of the company, his last visit to the office being made thirty days before the close of his career. His wonderful executive and financial skill was shown to the last, and he made himself effective for good in all the company's affairs.

Socially, Mr. Dinsmore was very popular, being a member of various clubs. He found time for a part in

other interests, and made himself useful to the community in various ways; was president of the academy of music; a director in several railroads; and the owner of the finest Alderney stock farm in the country, at Staatsburgh, in Dutchess county. Companionable, generous, and in all ways a useful man, he was mourned by his associates and the people at large, when his long life of labor ended, and he passed onward to his reward. He died at New York on April 20, 1888.

OPENING SCENES IN THE THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS: BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

THE thirty-sixth Congress assembled December 5th, 1859. The House consisted of 237 members and 5 territorial delegates: Republican, 109; Democrat, 101; American, 26; Republican American 1; and the Senate of 66 members, 37 Democrat, 24 Republican, 2 American; there being three vacancies. A ballot for Speaker was had the first day of the session of the House, which resulted in 86 votes for Thomas A. Bocock, of Virginia, a Democrat; 66 for John Sherman of Ohio, 43 for Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, Republicans; 14 for Thomas R. Nelson of Tennessee, American, and 11 scattering; necessary to a choice on this ballot, 116. Mr. Grow withdrew his name as candidate immediately after the vote was announced.

Mr. Clark of Missouri, then offered

the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas, certain members of this House, now in nomination for Speaker, did endorse and recommend the book hereinafter mentioned;

"Resolved—That the doctrines and sentiments of a certain book called 'The Impending Crisis of the South—How to meet it,' purporting to have been written by one Hinton R. Helper, are insurrectionary and hostile to the domestic peace and tranquility of the country, and that no member of this House, who has endorsed or recommended it or the Compendium from it, is fit to be Speaker of this House."

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, as soon as the above was read, raised a question of order, and stated that it seemed to him, in the present condition of the House, that there were

but two things in order, one a motion to adjourn, another to proceed to ballot for Speaker.

The clerk of the House of the thirty-fifth Congress, James C. Allen, a Democrat, from Illinois, declined to decide the point of order, but would submit it to the House.

At the commencement of a new Congress the clerk of the House of the preceding Congress is the presiding officer till the election of Speaker, and the first business in order is the election of Speaker. As parties then stood in the House neither had a majority to elect a Speaker and an unorganized House is without rules, except those usages which are supposed to control in some measure all public assemblies. This decision of the clerk launched the House upon the limitless sea of debate and dilatory motions, with no compass to direct or rudder to control it. Mr. Garnett of Virginia, a Democrat, an able man with much legislative experience, at this point expressed his views of the situation in the following words: "I submit, Mr. Clerk, that it is not within the power of the House to stop debate. The question is who shall we elect Speaker, and I contend that the gentleman from Missouri has a right to proceed, which this House cannot control unless by rules previously adopted. We have as yet adopted no rules, and I think he has a right to proceed as he desires, with remarks going to show why certain candidates before this House ought not to be elected Speaker."

Mr. Clark then proceeded with his

speech, extracts from which will be given, showing its animus:

"As an individual member of this house I claim the right to be heard, and I deny the power of the House to deprive me of it. I decide it for myself. I claim the right under the Constitution. I hope I will now be allowed to proceed. Sir, in view of the crisis of this country, representing as I do a constituency in a border state, adjoining the non-slaveholding states of this Union, representing a slaveholding constituency, and claiming that constituency to be equal in intelligence, equal in patriotism and equal in morals to that of any other gentleman's in this House, I should be recreant to that constituency, recreant to my own self-respect and traitor to our common country, if I failed to utter, before this deliberative body which is presumed to be to a great extent the embodiment of the intelligence and the will of the great American people, my condemnation of the sentiments such as have been indorsed by gentlemen on the other side of the House, who are now presented as candidates for the position of Speaker."

At this point Mr. Washburn of Maine raised a point of order—that Mr. Clark must confine himself to the question whether his resolution was in order, but the clerk refused to decide it. Mr. Clark then continued his remarks: "I hope the gentlemen on the other side of the House will bear with me and not get unhappy before I have had an opportunity to deliver the sentiments

which I propose to deliver, and place upon the political records of the country, in reference to deeds which strike at the peace of the people of this Union and at the perpetuity of the Union itself. No wonder they are unhappy and want to stop debate, when the constituents of members upon this floor have been incited by their representations and by their advice to insurrection, to treason, to bloodshed and to murder.

"We have passed through many periods since the foundation of the Government. We have passed through two wars since the War of Independence, but we have been a united and happy people. We have grown from a few weak states to a great confederacy, which now challenges the admiration of the civilized world." At this point Mr. Stanton of Ohio moved to adjourn. Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania hoped Mr. Stanton would withdraw his motion, "as these things must come out and they may just as well come out now," but the motion to adjourn was put and lost, the Democrats generally voting for it and the Republicans against it. Mr. Clark then continued his speech, and among other things referred to the Federalists and Republicans and Whigs, and Democrats, and then said, "Yet there has always been a conservative spirit in the country, a fraternal feeling governing men claiming to be American citizens, and keeping down insurrection and murder and rapine and dissolution. Both parties since the Government has had a history were unwilling to risk

their reputation by standing forth to the country advisors of a large portion of the people of this Union to stop at nothing until they put out of public life, disfranchise and murder a large portion of the people of the United States." Mr. Kilgore, a Republican from Indiana, here interrupted Mr. Clark and remarked: "As I am one of those embraced within the scope of the resolution, not being a candidate for the Speakership, I may make this suggestion: I have no recollection that I ever saw the recommendation, and so it is with every one that I have spoken to. Taking the selections published in the *Herald*, unconnected with other matter, I would most unhesitatingly condemn the publication, because I represent a constituency that is conservative and peace loving and that has no leaning towards treason."

Mr. Clark: "I am glad the gentleman is beginning to flee from the wrath to come."

Mr. Kilgore: "No, sir; I am not one of the fleeing stock. I am ready to take the responsibility of all my acts."

An interesting colloquy then occurred, participated in by Mr. Clark, Mr. Farnsworth of Illinois, Mr. Clark B. Cochrane of New York, Mr. Kellogg of Illinois, and Mr. Palmer of New York, in which Mr. Cochrane said: "If I understood the extracts I wish to say here to the House and to the country that I utterly condemn them—utterly."

Mr. Palmer: "I hope the gentleman from Missouri will not be interrupted.

If the negro is to be thrust upon us the first day of the Congress, let us go to work as speedily as possible and put him out, and I think the best way to do that is to have a free and general discussion."

Mr. Kellogg of Illinois was not prepared to say whether he did or did not sign the recommendation. He had seen it stated in a Democratic paper, which he did not regard as good authority. He then moved an adjournment which was carried—yeas 131. Thus ended the first day's lesson in Helper's Impending Crisis.

House met pursuant to adjournment December 6th. Mr. Clark having the floor caused to be read a paper signed by members of the thirty-fifth Congress, among whom were Joshua R. Giddings, John Sherman, Galusha A. Grow and others, 72 in all; also by a committee of New York, recommending the circulation of the Helper book. On this committee were William Curtiss Noyce, David Dudley Field, James A. Briggs and others. In this paper was a statement signed by Horace Greeley, James Kelley, John Jay, Thurlow Weed, William C. Bryant and others showing the value of the book, in statistical information; in relation to the evil influences of slavery upon the prosperity of the country, materially, morally, and educationally, and also stating that Mr. Helper of North Carolina was a white non-slaveholder, and that the facts stated therefore had more weight than if made by a resident of a free state.

The paper contained a Compendium

written by Mr. Helper severely denouncing slavery, and the following is a specimen:

"It is expected that the stupid and sequacious masses—the white victims—will believe, and as a general thing they do believe, whatever the slaveholders tell them, and thus it is that they are cajoled into the notion that they are the first, happiest, and most intelligent people in the world, and are taught to look with prejudice and disapprobation upon every new principle or progressive movement. Thus it is that the South, wofully inert and inventionless, has lagged behind the North, and is now weltering in the cesspool of ignorance and degradation."

Mr. Clark then continued his speech at great length, in which he expressed great love for the Constitution and Union. Here is a specimen extract: "Our slave property is as much our property under the Constitution and under the guarantees of this Government as any property held at the North. Whether it is sinful to hold slaves, whether slavery is a plague and a loss, and whether it will affect our future destiny, is our own business. We suffer for that and not they. We ask none of their prayers. We need none of them. If we were in need of them, and if the only way to escape future punishment and misery were to receive benefit from the prayers of those who signed that recommendation, I should expect after death to sink into the nethermost hell." (Laughter.)

After the conclusion of Mr. Clark's

speech, Mr. Gilmer of North Carolina, an American, offered an amendment to the resolution of Mr. Clark, by striking out all after the word "Resolved" and inserting a long statement signed by Henry Clay and forty-three others, members of the thirty-first Congress, protesting against the further agitation of the question of slavery as dangerous to the Union, and advising strict adherence to the final settlement thereof, by the compromise of 1850, including the fugitive slave law and also the Whig and Democratic platforms of 1852, pledging adherence to said compromise measures and that no member should be elected Speaker whose political opinions are known not to conform to said sentiments.

Mr. Millson, from Virginia, obtained the floor, and made quite a sensational speech from which a brief extract is given: "Sir, there seems to me something of an anti-climax on the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri, for, sir, the conscious publication and distribution of inflammatory and seditious writings tending and designed to incite the negro population of the Southern states to insurrection, should involve graver responsibility, and should provoke a more solemn retribution than a mere forfeiture of the place of Speaker of this body. One who consciously, deliberately and of purpose, lent his name and influence to the propagation of such writings is not only not fit to be Speaker but is not fit to live." (Applause and hisses in the gallery.)

"Sir, I will not attempt to penetrate the hidden sanctions which, in the relation between himself and his Maker, regulate human conduct, by saying he is not fit to die."

Mr. Sherman obtained the floor and said: "Mr. Clerk, I have until this moment disregarded this debate, because I presumed it was thrown at the House at this time for the purpose of preventing an organization. But the manner of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Millson)—my respect for his long experience in this House, my respect for his character, and the serious impression which this matter seems to have made upon his mind—induce me to say what I have to say. I ask that the letter which I send up may be read," which was done.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 6th, 1859.

"Dear Sir:—I perceive that a debate has arisen in Congress in which Mr. Helper's book, 'The Impending Crisis' is brought up as an exponent of Republican principles. As the names of many leading Republicans are presented as recommending a Compendium of the volume, it is proper that I should explain how those names were obtained in advance of publication. Mr. Helper brought his book to me at Silver Springs to examine and recommend, if I thought well of it, as a work to be encouraged by Republicans. I had never seen it before. After its perusal, I either wrote to Mr. Helper, or told him that it was objectionable in many particulars to which I adverted, and he promised me in

writing that he would obviate the objections by omitting entirely or altering the matter objected to. I understood that it was in consequence of his assurance to me that the obnoxious matter in the original publication would be expurgated, that members of Congress and other influential men among the Republicans were induced to give their countenance to the circulation of the edition so to be expurgated.

F. P. Blair,
Silver Springs.

"Hon. John Sherman."

Mr. Sherman said: "I do not recollect signing the paper referred to, but I presume from my name appearing in the printed list that I did sign it. I therefore make no excuse of this kind. I never have read Mr. Helper's book or the Compendium founded upon it. I have never seen a copy of either. And here, Mr. Clerk, I might leave the matter, but as many harsh things have been said about me I desire to say that since I have been a member of this House, I have always endeavored to cultivate the courtesies and kind relations that are due from one gentleman to another. I never addressed to any member such language as I have heard to-day. I never desire such language to be addressed to me, if I can avoid it. I appeal to my public record, during a period of four years in this body, and I say now there is not a single question agitating the public mind, not a single topic on which there can be sectional jealousy or sectional controversy unless gentlemen on the other side of the

House thrust such subjects upon us. I repeat, not a single question. We have pursued a studied silence. It is our intention to organize the House quietly, decently, in order, without interruptions, and we trust to show to members on all sides of the House that the party with which I have the honor to act can administer this House and administer this Government (applause from the galleries and Republican benches) without trespassing on the rights of any."

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, in his seat: "Only one-half of it." Mr. Sherman: "I say that I for one would not trespass on the rights of a single Southern citizen, and I defy any man to show anywhere a word I have uttered that would lead to a different conclusion. The signing of that paper and the book, every member of this House can appreciate without my saying a word about it. I have said more than I designed, and I trust that hereafter gentlemen on the other side of the House will observe the courtesies due from one gentleman to another. I have always observed such courtesies to them. While newspapers may call names, let me say that this is not the place for epithets. It is a place for reason and argument."

This conciliatory speech of Mr. Sherman did not conciliate the Representatives from the slaveholding states.

Mr. Leake from Virginia, got the floor, made a short but very exciting speech from which a single extract is made showing its temper and tone:

"I desire to make a remark in reply to the observations that have fallen

from the lips of the Abolition candidate for the Speakership of this House— (Hisses from the Republican benches.) I beg gentleman when they hiss, to remember that Rome was saved when the geese cackled. I understand that the Abolition candidate for the Speakership admits that he signed that recommendation and puts in a plea of *non est factum*—that he signed it without knowing its contents.” In reply to a question put to Mr. Sherman by Mr. Leake of the following purport, to wit, “I want to know if he is opposed to any interference with the subject of slavery outside of the Halls of Congress, as well as in them?” Mr. Sherman said: “Allow me to say once for all that I am opposed to any interference whatever by the people of the free states with the relation of master and slave in the slave states.” This did not satisfy Mr. Leake, for he continued for some time denouncing those who had signed the Helper book.

Mr. Clark of New York, an anti-Lecompton Democrat and son-in-law of Commodore Vanderbilt, obtained the floor, and made an able and conservative speech, from his political standpoint. His speech was listened to attentively by all parties; was gentlemanly in manner and kind in tone. A few quotations will suffice. Mr. Clark did not approve of the resolution of Mr. Clark of Missouri, but did of the amendment of Mr. Gilmer and then said among other things: “Sir, the North is eminently, enduringly conservative. Has she no interest in the preservation

of the Union? Has she no homes to secure, no wealth to preserve? Has she no love for popular liberty, to perpetuate which that Union was founded?”

He then referred to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as follows: “But I will just call attention to these various agitations upon the question of slavery occurring since the year 1850, with a view to inquire whose fault it is that this agitation is re-kindled. What was the first great question which arose, since 1850, to disturb the quiet of this country? We all know that it grew out of the territorial organizations of Kansas and Nebraska, and when the Compromise—time honored, and upon which the North reposed—was repealed.” Mr. Clark also stated that the repeal was carried by the aid of Southern votes.

Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, was recognized by the clerk and he violently and fiercely arraigned the Republican party, quoting largely from a speech of Senator Seward delivered in Ohio and then severely criticized too, the *New York Tribune* and the Helper book. He said: “The South asks nothing but her rights. As one of its Representatives I would have no more; but as God is my Judge, as one of its Representatives, I would shatter this Republic from turret to foundation stone, before I would take one tittle less.” (Applause in the galleries.)

At the close of this speech Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, took the floor and said: “Mr. Clerk, I do not rise to make a speech. (Cries of “go on.”) I

will just take the course I think proper and leave others to do the same. I believe, Mr. Clerk, that the discussion which has already been had, ought by this time to convince everybody, that the point of order I made yesterday was a correct and proper one, and I rise for the purpose of renewing it. It is this: that until this House is organized, it is not competent for the clerk of the House to entertain any question except that of proceeding to the election of Speaker, or on a motion to adjourn. I make that point of order, and I want it decided. But, Mr. Clerk, before I sit down I will say one single word. I do not blame gentlemen from the South for taking the course they do, although I deem it untimely and irregular, and although I deem it withholding from the public creditors, who are needing the means which we are bound as honest men to give them speedily. Nor do I blame them for the language of intimidation, for using this threat of rending God's creation from turret to foundation. (Laughter.) All this is right in them, for they have tried it fifty times, and fifty times they have found weak and recreant tremblers in the North who have been afflicted by it, and who have acted from those intimidations. They are right, therefore, and I give them credit for repeating with *grave countenances* that which they have so often found to be effective when operating upon timid minds."

Mr. Crawford of Georgia, at this point interrupted Mr. Stevens and said in an excited manner "Will you keep

down your Union meetings at the North, and not deceive the South by pretending to respect our right, whilst you never intend to give us—peace?" (Shouts of "order, order.")

Mr. Stevens: "I am not to be provoked by interruptions."

Mr. Crawford: "I do not desire to provoke you."

Mr. Stevens: "I am not to be provoked by interruptions. Interruptions have no effect upon me."

Mr. Crawford amidst cries of "Order, order," still insisted upon keeping the floor and continued his excited and violent remarks. After he was through Mr. Stevens replied: "That is all right. That is the way they frightened us before. Now you see exactly what it is and what it has always been." The following is quoted from the *Globe* containing the official proceedings of the House: "During the above colloquy members from the benches upon both sides of the House crowded down into the area, and there was for a time great confusion and excitement in the hall."

It is impossible by words upon paper to describe this exciting scene as it appeared to those who witnessed it.

The angry tone of the words used by Mr. Keitt and Mr. Crawford, and the excited manner of their utterances must have been seen to be duly appreciated.

Mr. Stevens was as calm and unmoved as the paintings and statuary which adorn the rotunda of the national Capitol.

A portion of the Representatives from the South rushed towards Mr.

Stevens, as if they intended personal violence, and some of the Representatives from the North followed them, to defend him if necessary, and there he stood, surrounded by excited men, venerable in years, rich in experience at the bar and in legislative bodies, but as composed himself as if arguing a question of law before the United States Supreme Court. After sundry motions and colloquies a motion to adjourn was carried. Mr. Clark of Missouri, on his way to his lodgings, pondering over the commotion which his *Helper* book resolution had created, probably mused to himself in the words, put into the mouth of a noted historic character:

"Now let it work; Mischief thou art afoot;
Take thou what course thou wilt."

JOHN HUTCHINS.

Hon. John Hutchins was a Representative from the then twentieth Ohio district, in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh Congresses, the successor of Joshua R. Giddings, and predecessor of James A. Garfield. He was a participant in many of the stormy scenes of those days and a witness of many others. He has long had in mind, and has now entered upon, the preparation of a history of these two famous

War Congresses, the opening chapter of which we are permitted to give in the foregoing. As in the installment given, Mr. Hutchins quotes brief extracts from speeches made by leading members from both North and South, rather than a mere synopsis or the statement of the substance in his own words, to show the views of some, which the stern logic of after events materially changed; and also to photograph to a shade the intense feeling of the time. The thirty-sixth Congress was a war of words on the subject of slavery—the expression of a moral conflict that the naked sword alone could decide and terminate. In the thirty-seventh Congress were originated and enacted into laws the measures which enabled the Government to successfully terminate the war, and restore peace and prosperity to a distracted country. This was, therefore, the War Congress, while the one preceding it was a polemic skirmish that defined each section and placed each party and man in his actual relation to all the rest. Mr. Hutchins gives the material points of the war on the skirmish line, which shows the true inwardness of the contest between North and South on the question of slavery. His work will be conscientiously done; and from his position at the time, his intimate relations with Mr. Chase, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Wade, and other leaders of the day, and his ability and clearness as a writer, he is fully qualified to write a history that will be readable to this generation and valuable for all time.—*Editor.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

If reports are true, the people of Lebanon, Connecticut, have less regard for historic relics than those of New England generally. We are told in a recent dispatch from Norwich that Mrs. Bethiah Wattles of Lebanon, who is the owner of the historic "war office" of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull in that town, a little square brown building near the "Green," in which Washington held many conferences with the famous Revolutionary war Governor, recently offered to give the building to the town providing the authorities would keep it in repair. The cost of maintaining the war office in good condition would not be more than \$5 a year, yet the hard-fisted farmers of Lebanon, at a town-meeting last week, voted not to accept the gift. The town list of taxable property in Lebanon amounts to \$1,200,000, and the tax is one per cent. Some of the Lebanon taxpayers have figured up the exact sum that the acceptance of the war office would entail on them in additional taxation, but they have not given the figures to the world. There are other places in New England that would gladly accept the gift, and pay all the expenses of removal.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL was a genuine Yankee, yet the class to which he belonged could hardly be described in the breezy language adopted in a paper read in 1840 before the Historical Society of Hartford, Connecticut, where the typical Yankee was spoken of as follows:

"He would kiss a queen, till he raised a blister,
With his arm 'round her neck, and his old
felt hat on;
Would address the king with the title of
'mister,'
And ask him the price of the throne that
he sat on."

THE corner stone of the massive and elegant new Masonic temple at Denver, Colorado, was

laid on April 8, with imposing ceremonies, and in the presence of a large concourse of people. Among the reminders of this generation placed in the corner stone, copies of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* found place.

It may not be generally known that Wilford Woodruff, the newly elected president of the Mormon church—a position he has practically held since the death of John Taylor, in 1887—has published a work in which the main events of his life are recorded. "Leaves from my Journal" is the modest title, and it appears in "Faith Promoting Series" of the Utah Church. As Taylor was reared a Methodist, being a local preacher in Toledo, Ohio—where he was converted to Mormonism by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in 1836—so Woodruff came direct from a childhood reared in the strict tenets of the old New England Church. "I spent the first years of my life," he tells us, "under the influence of what history has called the Blue Laws of Connecticut. No man, boy or child, of any age, was permitted to play, or do any work from sunset Saturday night until Sunday night. After sunset on Sunday evening, men might work, and boys might jump, shout and play as much as they pleased. Our parents were very strict with us, on Saturday night and all day Sunday. We had to sit very still and say over the Presbyterian catechism and some passages in the Bible." In 1832 he was for the first time brought under the influence of the Mormons, and was one of the two first converts baptized in Oswego county, New York. In 1834 he went to Kirtland, where he met Joseph Smith, and in company with the latter proceeded to Missouri, forming one of the historic Mormon army, which Smith led to the defense of the brethren in the West.

SENT forth as a missionary, he met with

many striking adventures, all of which are set forth in his little book. The working of miracles was not beyond his power, and we have his own account of the raising of the dead. His wife had been very sick, and December 3, 1838, saw her at the point of death. "I spent the day in taking care of her, and the following day I returned to Eaton to get some things for her. She seemed to be gradually sinking, and in the evening her spirit apparently left her body, and she was dead. The sisters gathered around her body, weeping, while I stood looking at her in sorrow. The spirit and power of God began to rest upon me until, for the first time during her sickness, faith filled my soul, although she lay before me as one dead.

"I HAD some oil that was consecrated for my anointing while in Kirtland. I took it and consecrated it again, before the Lord, for anointing the sick. I then bowed down before the Lord, and prayed for the life of my companion, and I anointed her body with the oil in the name of the Lord. I laid my hands upon her, and in the name of Jesus Christ I rebuked the power of death and the destroyer, and commanded the same to depart from her, and the spirit of life to enter her body. Her spirit returned to her body, and from that hour she was made whole; and we all felt to praise the name of God, and to trust in Him, and to keep His commandments."

PRESIDENT WOODRUFF gives also the experience of the wife during this momentous period. "While this operation was going on with me, as my wife related afterwards, her spirit left her body, and she saw it lying upon the bed, and the sisters weeping. She looked at them and at me, and upon her babe, and, while gazing upon this scene, two personages came into the room carrying a coffin, and told her that they had come for her body. One of these messengers informed her that she could have her choice; she might go to rest in the spirit world, or, on one condition, she could have the privilege of returning to her tabernacle and

continuing her labors upon the earth. The condition was, if she felt that she could stand by her husband, and with him pass through all the cares, trials, tribulations and afflictions of life which he would be called to pass through, for the gospel's sake, unto the end. When she looked at the situation of her husband and child, she said 'Yes, I will do it!' At the moment that decision was made the power of faith rested upon me, and when I administered unto her, her spirit entered her tabernacle, and she saw the messengers carry the coffin out at the door."

THERE has come to mind, in recording the above, another instance when one came back from the dead upon the soil of America, provided we can accept the statement of President Woodruff and of the "English maids" who are given in authority. In that quaint publication, "The Redeemed Captive"* (page 70): "When I was in the city (Quebec) in September I saw two English maids who had lived with the Indians a long time. They told me that an Indian had died at the place where they were, and that when sundry of his relations were together, in order to attend his funeral, the dead arose and informed them 'That at his death he went to hell, and there he saw all the Indians that had been dead since their embracing the Popish religion; and warned them to leave it off, or they would be damned too,' and laid down dead again. They said the Indians were frightened and very melancholy; but the Jesuits to whom they told this told them it was only a delusion of the devil to draw them away from the true religion, adding 'That he knew for certain that all those Indians who had been dead, spoken of by that Indian, were in heaven, only one squaw was gone to hell, who had died

* The title in full is appended: "The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion, or a Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Captivity and deliverance of Mr. John Williams, Minister of the Gospel in Deerfield, who, in the Desolation which befell that Plantation, by an incursion of the French and Indians, was by them Carried Away, with his Family and Neighborhood into Canada. Drawn by Himself." Printed and sold at Greenfield, Mass., by Thomas Dickman, MDCCC. Sixth edition.

without baptism.' These maids said also that many of the Indians much lamented their making a war against the English at the instigation of the French."

NOTED above is the laying of a corner stone, and naturally there comes the thought: When, and by whom will that sealed box be opened? A few evenings since the Plymouth Congregational Church Society of Cleveland, Ohio, gathered for the purpose of witnessing the formal breaking of the seals of a similar box deposited in the corner stone of the First Free Presbyterian Church of that city—of which Plymouth is the successor—in May, 1852. In 1854 the property passed into the hands of the First Baptist Society, by whom it has been recently sold, and taken down to make room for advancing business. Among the contents discovered were the following:

A copy of Deacon Herrick's Bible.

City Directory for 1850, printed by Smead & Cowles.

Uncle Tom's Cabin, in two volumes, by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The Cleveland *True Democrat*, of May 28, 1852.

The *Christian Press*, of Cincinnati, of May 1, 1852.

The *Free Presbyterian*, of Mercer, Pa., published May 26, 1852.

A pamphlet entitled "Constitution of the Western Home and Foreign Mission Associations, 1850."

A pamphlet, "Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, held July 3, 4, and 5, 1851."

A pamphlet giving "The Distinctive Principles of the Free Presbyterian Church of the United States."

Among other things the principles declared against the fugitive slave law; were opposed to war, and did not countenance secret affiliated societies. They condemned the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

Rev. T. M. Finney's sermons, one upon the theme, "The Bible at War with Schism," the other upon "The Sinfulness of War."

A manuscript giving the constitution of the Free Presbyterian Church.

These documents pretty well illustrate the fact that, with the Free Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, in 1852, slavery was the dominant question of the day.

THE editor and publishers—Houghton, Mifflin & Co.—who announce the preparation and publication of the following described work, deserve the most abundant encouragement, and should receive it in such form as to make their venture a success: "The Genesis of the United States, a Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605-1616, which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen, Disclosing the Contest Between England and Spain for the Possession of the Soil now Occupied by the United States of America; the whole set forth through a series of Historical Manuscripts now first printed, together with a re-issue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, Plans and Portraits, and a Comprehensive Biographical Index collected, arranged and edited by Alexander Brown, member of the Virginia Historical Society and of the American Historical Association, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England."

The value of this work can be understood from this outline of its purpose and contents: It contains the rich fruits of a patient and critical scholar's laborious research. That period which lay between 1605 and 1616 has been little understood, yet it was one of the most important in our history, and one that involved the question of the English race's hold upon American soil. In explaining the course of events in this period a mass of interesting evidence is brought to bear upon the subject, and there are presented in regular historical order many documents that give an accurate knowledge not only of the open facts, but of the secret plotting of that time. These documents are carefully edited, with full and comprehensive explanations of their meaning. The documents are classified as follows: Manuscripts which never have been printed before; printed papers

which never have been reprinted either in America or England; manuscripts in foreign languages, of which translations into English never before have been printed; manuscripts and printed papers which have been reprinted in America; illustrative material. The French and Spanish translations were made by Prof. Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia,

and through the aid of Hon. J. L. M. Curry, then Minister to Spain, copies from the Spanish records were secured. The whole number of documents contained in the work is 365. Only 71 of these have been published hitherto. The remaining 294 are now published for the first time.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

DINWIDDIE TO WASHINGTON.*

To George Washington, Esq., one of the Adjutants-General of the Troops and Forces in the Colony of Virginia:

I, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, conduct and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible dispatch, to that place on the River Ohio, where the French have lately erected a fort or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him, and after waiting not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back.

To this communication I have set my hand and caused the great seal of this Dominion to be affixed, at the city of Williamsburg, the seat of my government, this 30th day of October, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, etc., etc.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Annoque Domini, 1753.

Instructions for George Washington.

Whereas, I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a

hostile manner on the River Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign the King of Great Britain:

These are, therefore, to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown, on the said River Ohio, and having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter, to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the half king; to Monacotoucha, and the other Sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further directions.

You are diligently to inquire into the number and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication and the time required for it.

You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from

*These instructions and the papers that follow supplement the very interesting article on the "French Occupation in Western Pennsylvania," by Rev. S. J. M. Eaton, on pages 23-33 of this issue.

Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French, how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return as you may judge for your safety against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return,

I am, etc.,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Williamsburg, October 30, 1753.

To all to whom these presents may come or concern, greeting:

Whereas, I have appointed George Washington, Esquire, by commission under the great seal, my express messenger to the commandant of the French forces on the River Ohio, and as he is charged with business of great importance to his majesty and the Dominion:

I do hereby command all his majesty's subjects, and particularly require all in alliance and amity with the crown of Great Britain, and all others to whom this *passport* may come, agreeably to the law of nations, to be aiding and assisting, as a safeguard to the said George Washington, and his attendants, in his present passage to and from the River Ohio, as aforesaid.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PETER CARTWRIGHT.—EARLY METHODISM IN OHIO.

To the Editor :—The reference under the head of "Editorial Notes" in the April number of the MAGAZINE, to the action of the last General Conference of the Methodist Church, held in New York, in 1888, in extending what is known as the "time limit," calls to mind an incident of the General Conference of 1856, held in Indianapolis, to which the celebrated Peter Cartwright was a delegate and which incident is characteristic of the man. While organizing and getting ready for the work before it, the conference had spent considerable time in the discussion of a motion which, to many, seemed to be of only minor importance—and a delegate had called attention to the fact, adding that it was something unusual for Methodist conferences to waste so much time on so trivial a matter.

Cartwright jumped to his feet and exclaimed, "The brother is mistaken! There ain't anything strange, or at all unusual in what we're doing, we always load a six-pounder to the muzzle to shoot a mouse."

Cartwright was a man of much oddity and

marked peculiarities, but as a pioneer in Methodism in the Southwest was of great use and influence in its early days in Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois. He had but little education or culture, but a keen perception of human nature and a spontaneous wit which went far towards making up the lack in those respects. He was born in Virginia, in 1785, and entered the service of the Church in 1802, and was in active work sixty-seven years; a presiding elder fifty years, and a delegate to thirteen successive General Conferences; a period of fifty-two years; at Baltimore in 1816, to Chicago in 1868.

It is worthy of remark in this connection that the first Methodist Society organized in Ohio was in the first county organized in the northwest territory, viz., Washington county. Reece Woolf, a local preacher, was settled on the Little Kenhawa, in Wood county, Virginia, in the spring of 1798, when Methodism was "unknown in that country." He saw that there was a great field to be occupied by some one and wrote to Bishop Asbury, the first ordained

bishop in the United States, and also to the conference at Baltimore, for more help. Rev. Robert Manley was sent, but remained but about three weeks in Virginia, when he crossed over into Ohio; visited Marietta, then the seat of government of the Territory, and in one of the settlements near that place, organized in 1799, four years before Ohio was a state, the first society as above indicated. Cartwright was in this same section in 1806, it then being known as the Muskingum Circuit, which extended along the north bank of the Ohio river a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. It was three hundred miles around it and Cartwright says he had "hard work to keep soul and body together."

Mr. Manley had hoped to establish a church at Marietta, but, he says, he found the first settlers were principally predestinarians, subdivided into Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, with Rev. Dr. Daniel Story, an uncle of Associate Justice Joseph Story, officiating as minister of the only church there. And also because a Methodist preacher, Methodist doctrines and Methodist economy were as strange and unlooked for, to those people, as "Columbus' ship and party were to the natives of our land," he was content to organize his church in a settlement near by.

Cleveland, Ohio.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

MR. DUNN'S "INDIANA."

"INDIANA: A REDEMPTION FROM SLAVERY."

By J. P. Dunn, Jr., Secretary Indiana Historical Society; Librarian of the Indiana State Library; author of "Massacres of the Mountains." Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston: in American Commonwealth series.

When Mr. Dunn began to write this book—we do not say to prepare for its writing, for his whole life and all his historical studies have been a preparation—he no doubt considered the sub-title of secondary importance, or may not have meditated a sub-title at all. But as the political development of the state unfolded, the philosophic aspect of the question presented itself, and he saw what so few of us have understood—that so far as Indiana has any great distinctive feature it is as a battle-ground whereon one of the effectual struggles for freedom was quietly fought, but fought to a close; and that the exclusion of slavery from within her border, drew the line along the Ohio river, and made a phalanx of free states from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Therefore the subject unfolded upon the writer as it does upon the reader, we imagine, and we are the possessors of a new light upon this great question, in addition to the questions of politics, commercial develop-

ment and geographical lines, that constitute the founding and development of a state.

Mr. Dunn states a fact that, because of this book, remains a fact no longer, when he tells us that few have had conception of the true significance of this episode of American history; and adds that historians who have alluded to the continuation of slavery under the Ordinance of 1787, "appear to have regarded it merely as one of the incongruities of frontier life—an unlawful condition which nothing but the imperfection of government permitted to exist. The historical fact that the local slavery question was the paramount political influence in Indiana, up to the time of the organization of the state government, has never been hinted at." This is a broad statement which some may question, but we do not recall anything that can well be quoted in its refutation.

Mr. Dunn takes us back to the appearance of the first white man upon Indiana soil—a starting point that, primarily, is necessary in writing the history of the state; and secondary, that he finds necessary in a discovery of the causes "which produced the pro-slavery feeling, and the difficulties which anti-slavery sentiment was obliged to overcome." The occupation of the country by the French, and the many features of

warfare, strivings for supremacy, negotiation, missionary effort, and commercial ventures of that exciting and romantic period, are given with a fullness of detail and reference to authorities, that leaves little to be sought out, even by the closest searcher after truth. From thence we are led, step by step, through the early years; the appearance of the Englishman and his American descendant of the Eastern coast; the evil days brought upon the frontier by the Revolution; the heroic leadership of George Rogers Clark, whom the author well names, "The Hannibal of the West"; the passage, operation and effects of the ordinance of 1787; the powers granted to or withheld from the slave-holder under that famous instrument; the creation of the Northwest territory; the establishment of civil authority; the passage of the Indiana territory into the second or representative grade of government in 1804; the advance made during that grade; the division act that

reduced the territory to the present dimensions of the state; the final emancipation from slavery in the new-made constitution; the admission of Indiana as a state; this brief and hurried review takes us over the ground at lightning express, across which Mr. Dunn has passed with such deliberate care, such clear exposition, and such a wealth of material that we cannot but declare that he has produced one of the most valuable works of the decade. The fact that he has ended his history of Indiana at a point where the state has an official beginning, leads to the hope that another volume carrying us from 1816 to the present date, may now be in preparation. No one is better equipped by mental power, habits of study, conciseness of statement, and philosophic insight, to carry the story forward; and if Mr. Dunn but does so, he will have produced for all time, the standard history of the state that is proud to number him among her sons.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM WASHINGTON TO CLEVELAND, COMPRISING THEIR PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY." By John Frost, LL.D., and Harry W. French. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

We have here, within the limits of some five hundred or more pages, all that the average reader has occasion to know of the men who have been elected to the chief office within the gift of the people. In giving the history of the Presidents the writers have incidentally told as well the story of the various administrations, and given the outlines of the history of our land for the period described, making a work of handy reference, not so overburdened with details as to cut the thread of interest in the personal lives of our chief magistrates. A fine portrait of each President accompanies his sketch.

"FROM LADY WASHINGTON TO MRS. CLEVELAND." By Lydia L. Gordon. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Almost as a companion piece to the above work comes this complete record of the lives of

the women who have occupied the White House, from Mrs. Washington to the young bride of Grover Cleveland. The work is that of a woman competent to tell a charming story without deviation from historic truth; and supplements the more grave recital of each administration as already given in the above described lives of the Presidents. The complete social side of Washington life is given, from the beginning of the first administration to the end of the one just closed.

"THE STORY OF HOLLAND." By James E. Thorold Rogers, professor of political economy in the University of Oxford, and of economic science and statistics, King's College, London. Author of "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," "A History of Agriculture and Prices in England," etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

"THE STORY OF MEXICO." By Susan Hale. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

From Media, Babylon, Chaldea, and Ancient Egypt, past Carthage and the Normans, this fruitful "Story of the Nations" of the Putnam's has been brought to the familiar soil of

Holland and the yet semi-mysterious regions of Mexico. The thought that inspired the creation of this series, and the patient care, historical knowledge, and good judgment exhibited in the selection of writers and oversight of each volume, form a contribution to American literature of a value that can hardly be estimated. The writers have been chosen with especial reference to their fitness for the tasks assigned, and in many cases, as in that of Mrs. Hale, because of a personal knowledge gained by travel and experience, among the people whose state history is recorded. The illustrations in all these volumes are full and pertinent.

In dealing with Holland, Mr. Rogers acknowledges the difficulty of telling the complete story of that wonderful people within the limits assigned, but pertinently adds that "it is possible by a short narrative to recount the principal facts in the greatest and most important of all European wars, that in which the seven provinces of Holland secured their independence against the monarch who was supposed to possess the mightiest powers of the age." This epitome is ably made, and the book takes its place among the best histories of that redoubtable people. The story of Mexico is about equally divided between the early and the late days, and is brought down to the present date. The book therefore not only possesses a great historic value but must be of especial use to those who would learn, for any purpose, of the Mexico of to-day.

"THE YEAR'S BEST DAYS: FOR BOYS AND GIRLS." By Rose Hartwick Thorpe, author of "Curfew Must Not Ring To-night." Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

This pleasant and instructive story book takes the children through the round of the year's holidays from Christmas to Thanksgiving, telling some tale suitable to each, and pointing incidentally the moral that belongs naturally to each. As a book for the young it can be heartily commended.

Pamphlets and other minor publications:

"NEW AMSTERDAM, NEW ORANGE, NEW YORK; WITH CHRONOLOGICAL DATA." By Gen. Charles W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, etc. Privately printed.

General Darling has given a great deal of work to the preparation of this monograph, and the result is his justification. At this centennial season in New York, the public interest is largely drawn towards the past, and upon that past much light has been shed. The historical notes above described convey an idea of the city of New York as it appeared in its earliest days. They were gathered from various sources—from the De Vries, Denton, Brodhead, De Witt, Benson, Rogers, Bryant, Stevens and Winsor; also from manuscript folio volumes of public records; a portion of which was published by Moulton in 1825. The notes date back to the period when trading and fishing huts were first erected upon Manhattan Island; and therefore "necessarily embrace the years between the discovery of this land by Hudson, in 1609, and the recall of Gov. Wouter Van Twiller in 1637."

"THE RIGHT OF DISCOVERY." By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D. Author of "The Old Northwest," "Garfield and Education," etc. Reprinted from the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, for December, 1888.

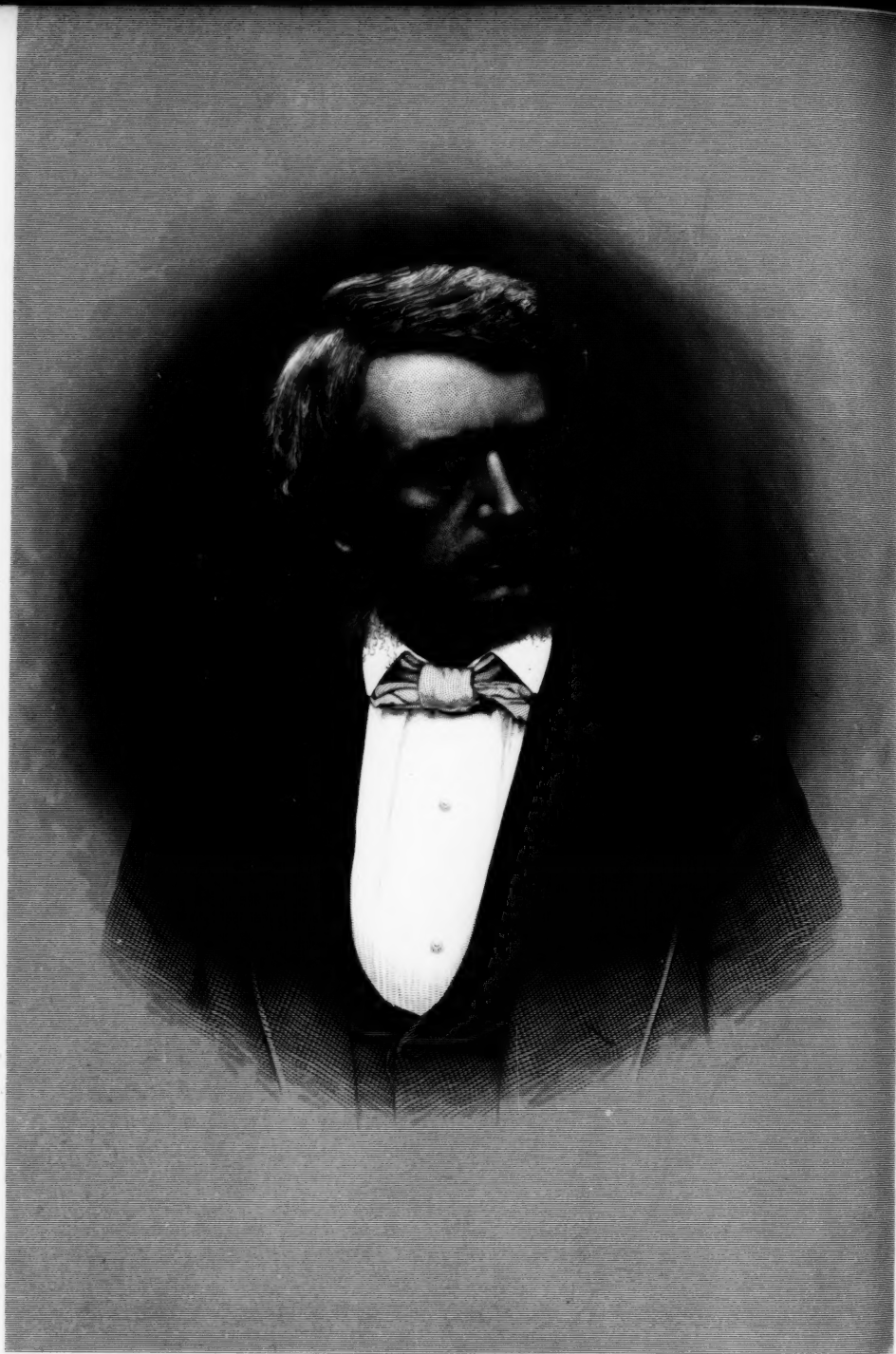
Whatever Prof. Hinsdale undertakes to do, he does thoroughly and well, and in this monograph, we may look for a review that shall cover the ground historically, logically and from the standpoint of international law. He begins with the beginning of written history, and follows the various modifications and gradations of this right, down to the settlement of the question as to whom the American continent should belong, massing together an immense mass of information and making his point with great strength and clearness. It is a field not often entered, and only one with Prof. Hinsdale's mental equipment would have a right to enter it at all.

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Thomas A. Scott